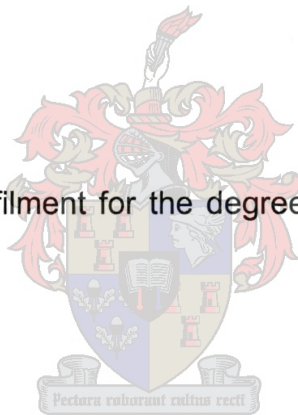


ACCOUNT-GIVING IN THE NARRATIVES OF ABUSE IN ISIXHOSA

BY

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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Stellenbosch.



Study leader:

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APRIL 2005

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any University for a degree.

Signature

Date

ABSTRACT

This study explores the theoretical work in articulating the motivations and conditions for account-giving in isiXhosa in relation to image restoration. This emotional and behavioural rehabilitation is done through accounts. In this context, accounts are similar to narratives and can be retained at the level of private reflections or written as diary entries or for others to read and refer to from time to time.

The account-making process according to Warren (1989), is like a "life in motion" in which individual characters are portrayed as moving through their experiences, dealing with some conflict or problem in their lives and at the same time searching for a resolution. It is then this quest to understand the major stresses in each individual's mind that is at the core of this study. The why questions that are the result of the daily experiences of destitution, depression, death, disability, etc., are also addressed here.

The importance of the intelligibility of accounts is established with reference to Schank and Abelson (1977) who contend that people construct accounts based on their knowledge structure approach, causal reasoning and text comprehension. Thus, for an account to be honoured, it has to be goal-oriented and coherent. In this study, the social-interactive aspects of account-giving are investigated and it is discovered that severe reproach forms involving personality attacks and derogatory aspects, elicit defensive reactions that result in negative interpersonal and emotional consequences. The mitigation-aggravation continuum is then examined with regard to the selection of the failure management strategies.

Narrative accounts based on McIntyre (1981) form the basis of moral and social events and as such, stories have two elements through which they are explored. They are explored firstly in the way in which they are told and secondly, on the way they are lived in the social context. These stories follow a historically or culturally based format and to this effect, Gergen (1994) suggested a narrative criteria that constitute a historically contingent narrative form. Narrative forms are linguistic tools that have important social functions to satisfactorily fulfil such as stability narrative, progressive narrative and regressive narrative. According to Gergen (1994), self-narratives are social processes in which

individuals are realized on the personal perspective or experience, and as such their emotions are viewed as constitutive features of relationship. The self-narratives used and analysed in this study portray the contemporary culture-based elements or segments of a well-formed narrative.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die teoretiese werke en die artikulasie van die motiverings en kondisies vir verslag-making en verslagdoening in isiXhosa m.b.t. beeld-herstel ('image restoration'). Hierdie emosionele en gedragsrehabilitasie word gedoen deur verslagdoening. In hierdie konteks is verslae soortgelyk aan narratiewe en kan beskou word op die vlak van privaatrefleksies of geskryf word as dagboekinskrywings.

Die verslagdoeningsproses, is, volgens Warren (1989) soos 'lewe-in-beweging', waarin individuele karakters voorgestel word as dat hulle beweeg deur hulle ondervindings waarin hulle een of ander konflik of probleem aanspreek, en soek na 'n oplossing. Dit is hierdie soeke om die hoofspanninge in elke individu se denke te verstaan wat die kern van hierdie studie is. Die waarom-vrae wat die gevolg is van die daaglikse ondervindinge, eensaamheid, depressie en gestremdheid, word ook aangespreek in die studie oor narratiewe in isiXhosa.

Die belangrikheid van die verstaanbaarheid van verslae word ook ondersoek met verwysing na Schank en Abelson (1977) se siening dat mense verslae konstrueer gebaseer op hulle kennis, struktuurbenadering, kousale beredenering en teksbegrip. Dus, vir 'n verslag om gerespekteer te word, moet dit doel-georiënteerd en koherent wees. In hierdie studie, word die sosiaal-interaktiewe aspekte van verslagdoening ondersoek, en dit word bevind dat erge verdedigingsvorme persoonlike aanvalle en verkleinerende aspekte insluit wat verdedigende reaksies uitlok wat negatiewe interpersoonlike en emosionele gevolge het. Die vermindering-vergroting kontinuum word ondersoek m.b.t. die selektering van mislukking bestuurstrategieë.

Narratiewe verslae gebaseer op McIntyre (1981) vorm die basis van morele en sosiale gebeure, en as sodanig, het stories twee elemente waardeur hulle ondersoek word, eerstens op die wyse waarop, en tweedens, op die wyse wat hulle beleef word in sosiale

konteks. Stories volg 'n histories- en kultureelgebaseerde formaat. Gergen (1994) het narratiewe kriteria voorgestel. Narratiewe vorme is linguistiese gereedskap wat belangrike sosiale funksies het, insluitende stabiliteit narratief, progressiewe narratief en regressiewe naratief.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Dr M. Dlali, my supervisor, for his time, experience and insights.
- Prof. M. W. Visser, the head of department, for her abundant support, advice and encouragement. She has inspired me throughout my research, and for that, I will always be indebted to her.
- To Prof. Du Plessis, the beacon of knowledge, I wasn't really sure about what I was doing until I met you and even though we met very briefly you boosted my morale and confidence. I continued with my thesis with a renewed zeal and oomph, and it is all because of you. Thank you.
- To Dr N. Satyo, I pass my heartfelt gratitude for being a mother figure to me, always there to listen and offer advice and support whenever needed. Nangamso MaGatyeeni.
- The National Research Foundation for financial assistance.
- To the two greatest and most wonderful men in my life. They both have been my strongest support system, my pillars, from the beginning until tomorrow. They have constantly given me a tender but yet a persuasive nudge to embark on this journey, and they saw me through it. When things got tough on the way and I needed a shoulder to cry on, they provided me with two and even offered me a handkerchief, and a lollipop. My father the hero, Thabo Skomolo, you are the greatest and I love you so. You are my Lighthouse Hlongwane. And, to Charles Mushabe, my true *munange*, you are the best. Thank you, both of you for your words of wisdom and for being there for me.
- This one goes to my *Angel*, Minky. You are a baby but yet such a very strong and supportive part of me. Your words of encouragement and endearment as young as you are my love, kept me going. This achievement is for you sweetheart.
- My mother, Matu, for her sleepless nights, always worrying what is happening with and to her '*tefayo*'. Mom, whenever I called you, I knew that by the time I say goodbye I would be feeling like a new person. You are so wise, loving and you always know what to say to make me feel better and you still do. Enkosi Ndlovukazi ngemithandazo yakho.
- To my sisters Ntintie and Ntozie for their support and love.

- To my friend and uncle Mojaki "Bakabaka for life". When I told him about my plans of quitting my job in pursuit of my dreams, he said: " Hamba mtshana and make us proud." Malume, I hope this is good enough to make you proud of me.
- To my two grandfathers, Mabutana Gideon and Tshepo Daniel Mokapela, you always said that you wanted me to fly higher than an eagle, and today if you can look up, you will see me just beneath the clouds. Thank you so much for your encouragement and believing that I can touch the sky.
- To my greatest and yet late grandmother, Gambu, you have been the wind beneath my wings, umthombo ongatshiyo wolwazi nokomelela. Sometimes when my mind decided to derail from work, I would just look out of the window in Rm 537, Arts Building University of Stellenbosch, and I would see your beautiful, ever-smiling face, and start recalling the things we used to do together and immediately ideas will start flooding into my mind. You were such a wonderful person, not only to me, but also to everyone, you always knew what to do, how to do it and most importantly why you had to do it. How I wish you were here now and today to witness the fruits of your tireless educational lessons and efforts. You will always be my source of knowledge, strength and inspiration Gambukazi, Msuthu, Memela.
- I also wish to pass my gratitude to my greatest friend Xolani for his unwavering support. I know that you had to put aside some of your responsibilities just to listen and help me, and all that time you always knew what to say and do. Thank you Mhlatyana for your advice and assistance. Ungadinwa nangomso mzukulwana kaNotiki.
- This wouldn't have happened if God Jehovah did not will it to. It did not happen because of my intelligence, but because I always asked God for His guidance and insight, and for that I will always be grateful to be called your child.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim

The purpose of this study is to conduct a research on theories of politeness, image restoration theory, a social perspective of interpersonal accounts and relational theory on self-narration in social life.

The politeness theory as analysed by Thomas (1995) signifies that people are able to use the very same terms but in different ways, with different definitions of politeness and that in most cases people talk at cross-purposes. This therefore, raises a lot of confusion and misunderstanding as far as politeness is concerned. Sets of phenomena are set into place to address or counteract the confusion caused by this concept of politeness.

Goffman (1967) defines this theory of politeness in terms of 'face', which he defines as:

'... the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes- albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself.'

Brown and Levinson (1978) expanded this theory by highlighting that each person has two faces, a positive face and a negative, and that both of them need to be maintained when faced with a potential threat. They claim that this could be done by either performing or not performing an FTA (face threatening act) which is an illocutionary act liable to damage or threaten another person's face.

Benoit (1995) argues that all human beings are constantly faced with situations that prompt them into explaining or justifying their behaviour and to offer excuses or apologies for certain behaviours that are regarded as offensive or provocative to others. The communicative activity of excuse-making and image restoration pervades social life and also serves as an important function in every human being's life, that of restoring our precious reputations.

According to Harvey, J. H., Weber, A. L., and Orbuch, T. L. (1990), human life is history which is passed on from one generation to the other through communication, in a form of story-telling. These personal stories are the ones that are called accounts and these accounts are what constitute this study. These accounts are so significant in that people use them to look for understanding of the major issues in their lives. The study of accounts is then seen as the significant element or offspring of work on attributional processes in psychology. On this point, Weiss (1975) argues that:

"The account is of major psychological importance to be separated, not only because it settles the issue of who was responsible for what, but also ... a plot structure with a beginning, middle, and an end and so organizes the events into a conceptually manageable unity. Once understood in this way, the events can be dealt with: They can be seen as outcomes of identifiable causes and, eventually, can be seen as past, over and external to the individual's present self. Those who cannot construct accounts sometimes feel that their perplexity keeps them from detaching themselves from distressing experiences. (Weiss, 1975:15)

When people are reproached for a social failure, they feel obliged to construct an account for the failure event, an account that will be honoured by the reproacher's. An account can refer to the narratives or stories that we use to explain and make sense of a social interaction, and it can refer to the way in which people try to affect a repair of a social failure. The only way that an account-giver can be able to address the most significant issues when accounting, is to consider the failure event for which she or he is reproached and come into terms with the issue that she or he has to account for. It is also important to consider the whens, whose, and hows of accounts. Thus, all human beings have to acknowledge the fact that account-giving occurs in social context and as such may be affected in substantive ways by the social context.

Self-narratives according to Gergen (1994) are forms of social accounting or public discourse in which narratives are perceived as conversational resources and constructions open to continuous transformation as interaction continues. They can also be used as instruments of indicating future actions in a form of morality stories of a given society such as self-identification, self-justification, and self-criticism and social solidification.

This study will then focus on self-narratives as a form of social accounting beginning with the character of self-narratives, the structuring of narrative accounts, varieties of narrative forms and the emotion as relationship.

1.2. Organisation of the Study

An extensive research is done on self-narrative accounts concerned with life stories on various subjects, which are related to traumatic stress. These narratives are on:

- a) The narrative of traumatic childhood and abuse in isiXhosa
- b) Rife racial issues in work places in the post-democratic South Africa
- c) The scourge of homophobia
- d) The aftermath of child abuse and molestation
- e) Domestic abuse.

These narratives have been used because they are all life stories and are aimed at accounting for one's socially and/or culturally questionable behaviour. They are also aimed at restoring one's dented or threatened image. These narrative accounts are analysed according to the characteristics of a well-formed narrative from a culture-based angle.

This thesis comprises of the following chapters:

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| Chapter 1 | : | Introduction |
| Chapter 2 | : | Theories of Politeness |
| Chapter 3 | : | A Theory of Image Restoration |
| Chapter 4 | : | A Social Perspective of Interpersonal Accounts |
| Chapter 5 | : | Self-Narration in Social Life, and Emotion as Relationship |
| Chapter 6 | : | Conclusion |

CHAPTER 2: THEORIES OF POLITENESS

2.1 Aim

The concept 'politeness' is a very complex one and is very confusing in that even though people might be using the same terms, they use them in very different ways, operating with different definitions of 'politeness' and they are mostly talking at cross-purposes, and this causes much misunderstandings. To counteract these misunderstandings, there are five correlated sets of phenomena to be used which are:

- (i) Politeness as a real-world goal
- (ii) Deference
- (iii) Register
- (iv) Politeness as a surface level phenomena, and
- (v) Politeness as an illocutionary phenomenon.

To redress the confusion and misunderstandings raised by this term 'politeness', we will discuss in detail each set of phenomena.

2.1.1 Politeness as a real-world goal.

Pragmatically, we have no access to the speaker's real motivation for speaking as they do and it is just a futile exercise discussing whether one group of people is 'politer' than the other, in the sense of genuinely behaving better to other people than do to other groups. This is so because all what we have access to is what speakers say and how their hearers react, but this is debatable.

2.1.2 Deference versus politeness

Deference which is a socio-linguistic factor is often confused with politeness, which is a central pragmatic factor. Even though the two, deference and politeness are connected they are not equal. Deference is the opposite of familiarity as it refers to the respect we show to others by virtue of their higher status, greater age, etc., whereas politeness is a more general matter of showing consideration, or of giving the impression of showing consideration to others. Both deference and politeness can be manifested through general social behaviour. For example, we can show deference by offering a seat to an elderly citizen or show politeness by smiling when someone enters our home or office.

These two (deference and politeness) can also manifest themselves linguistically with the obligatory use of address forms such as Dr, Prof., Director, etc., and the honorifics such as Sir or Madam. All these address forms are deferentially used to indicate the relative status of the interactants.

Also the use of first names such as Nomthandazo, Lubabalo, Busisiwe, Tumello, Xolani or their diminutives, Thandi, Babalo/ Babes, Busi, Tumi, Xi or Mxi, are used to show a friendly and non-deferential relationship. Nowadays it is difficult to find markers of deference beside the address system. There are but few exceptions one can come across with, such as the following example:

Example 1:

This is someone referring to the President's speech in a rally held in Qaukeni.

'Uyivile indlela Obekekileyo ayicacise ngayo into yabantu abalahlekisa ngayo abahlali, babe bebanga ukuba basebenzisana ngqo naye (yena Mongameli).'

(Have you heard how the Highness has explained this issue of people who are going around misleading others by claiming that they are dealing directly with him (the President)?

Deference has little to do with pragmatics in that unless the speaker deliberately wishes to flout the behavioural norms of a given society, she or he has no choice as to whether to use the deferent form or not, usage is dictated by socio-linguistic norms. Researchers have tried looking for examples of this in spheres of life, there is only but one that fits well. For example, in the defence force, a soldier has to abide by the military discipline which dictates the address forms used for superior officers and there are penalties attached to a non-observance of this socio-linguistic norm. At the same time, this observance does not necessarily indicate real respect or regard for the individual so addressed. This reminds me of a situation in a place where I used to work, whereby the principal insisted that students should address all male teachers as 'mfundisi' at all times because most teachers were called by their surnames or given all these funny names by students depending on the behaviour of each teacher towards students.

Example 2:

The principal addressing students at assembly in the morning after a complaint lodged by one of the teachers, who was popularly known by students as 'Tshisa-mpama':

'Ngalo lonke ixesha utitshala okanye utitshalakazi ethetha nawe ungumfundi, ufanele uphendule ngelithi "ewe mfundisi" okanye "hayi mfundisi". Siyevana!'

('Everytime a teacher addresses you, you respond by saying "yes sir" or "no sir". Do we understand one another!')

An obligatory form has no significance in pragmatics unless there is a choice, that is when a speaker attempts to bring about change by challenging the current norms and then the use of deferent or non-deferent forms becomes of interest to pragmatics. For example, in the use of address forms, a strategic choice can be made such as addressing someone by his or her name, or by using honorifics to deliberately change the social relationships.

It is also important to acknowledge the fact that the use of a deferent form does not convey respect. In the following example, the speaker manages to express extreme disrespect, while using conventional forms of deference:

Example 3:

The speaker is a nineteen-year old girl addressing her mother. The two don't seem to be getting along ever since the parents' divorce. This girl comes and goes as she pleases, and refuses to listen to her mother. The mother was again trying to warn her daughter about consequences of her (the girl) loose behaviour. The girl responds:

'Mzali ndithi mandikushiye ngoxolo emzini wakho'.

(Parent, I am going to leave you in peace in your house'.)

At the same time, the use of a deference marker can convey the very opposite of respect. In the following example the speaker exploits the address system by using an inappropriately elaborate and deferential form of address to his wife in order to imply that she is behaving in an unbecoming manner:

Example 4:

The speaker and his wife have been interviewing housekeepers from distinguished agencies for almost four weeks now. She is always dissatisfied because she thinks that they are not qualified or good enough:

'Ibe yintoni isiphene ngoNkskz. Bengu, Nkosazana?'

('Princess, what was the problem with Mrs Bengu?')

It is also possible to be deferential without being polite and the following example illustrates how distinct politeness and deference are:

Example 5:

A member of a Branch Executive Committee referring to the chairperson of the Regional Executive Committee whom he despises:

'Epee! Sihlalo Omkhulu. Ndingakunceda ngantoni namhlanje?'

('Ehmm! The Great chairperson, how can I help you today?')

2.1.3 Register

The term register refers to systematic variation in relation to social context or the way in which the language we speak or write varies according to the type of situation. Certain situations such as formal meetings or type of language use such as report-writing, as well as certain social relationships require more formal language use. In English, this formality manifests itself by the choice of formal lexis and forms of address, the avoidance of interruption, etc.

Like deference, register has little to do with politeness and little connection with pragmatics as we have no real choice about whether or not to use formal language in formal situations. Register is a socio-linguistic phenomenon, a description of the linguistic forms that generally occur in a particular situation. The choice of register has little to do with the strategic use of language and it only becomes of interest in pragmatics once a speaker deliberately uses unexpected forms in order to change the situation or to challenge the status quo:

Example 6:

The speaker is the teacher addressing a student who is challenging the quality of the recent test paper:

‘Intlungu isekubeni awuhambi sikolo, uze uphinde ungazikhathazi ngokubuza kwabanye ukuba bekusenziwa ntoni ngeli lixa ubungekho ngalo. Akukho nto ndiya kuphinda ndiyithethe. Funda iincwadi zakho.’

(‘The problem is that you are irregular at school and on top of that, you don’t bother yourself by enquiring from others about what was done by the time you were absent. There is nothing more that I would say to you. Read your books.’)

Example 7:

The speaker is a SASCO member at the Free State Technikon, responding to the Provincial Secretary’s plea for clarity:

‘Ililishwa into yokuba kucace ukuba sakuthetha into enye imihla nezolo ngenxa yokukhokhelwa ngabantu abangafuni kuva nakubona. Nithi yintoni na le sikuyo madoda!’

(It is so unfortunate to realize that we’ll keep on repeating ourselves over and over again because we are led by people who do not want to listen and to see. What is all this!’)

2.1.4 Politeness as an utterance phenomenon

The interest of some pragmaticists such as Walters on utterance level realizations in the area of politeness was to investigate how much politeness could be squeezed out of speech act strategies. To investigate the perception of politeness, Walters used standard lexical context in order to establish the hierarchy of politeness and doing so by ignoring the context as much as possible.

According to Fraser, this could be further witnessed through the various forms of request found in a particular language, and in this instance isiXhosa: *Ndicela undi... 123, ungandi... 123, khawundi... 123, nceda undi... 123, ungakwazi ukundi... 123 (123 is a request or imposition for which no context is supplied.)*

The above experiments allow comparisons of available forms for performing particular speech acts in different languages or cultures. It has also been discovered that members of a particular community showed a very high level of agreement as to which linguistic forms were more polite when taken out of context. Generally, it was found that the more grammatically complex or elaborate the strategy, the more highly it was rated for politeness. For example, in isiXhosa- the equivalent of:

Ndicela undigalelele amanzi

Would be counted as more polite than:

Khawundigalelele amanzi

Which in turn would be rated as more polite than the unmodified imperative form:

Ndigalelele amanzi.

There are two issues arising from these studies, the first issue is relating to the pragmatics or socio-linguistic divide which implies that the listing of linguistic forms that can be used to perform a speech act in a given language is not pragmatics, it only becomes pragmatics when we look at how a particular form in a particular language is used strategically in order to achieve the speaker's goal.

The second issue deals with contextualising a speech act enabling us to see that there is no necessary connection between the linguistic form and the perceived politeness of a speech act. Reasons for this are clearly illustrated in the following examples:

Example 8:

A couple is trying to get a perfect nanny for their first child. The husband says:

'Ndithemba isigqibo sakho.' okanye

('I trust your decision.' Or)

'Makugqibe wena.'

('You decide.')

This is a direct imperative which is beneficial to the hearer and costly to the speaker. In the following example, the husband says to the wife:

Example 9:

'Unganceda undonyusele isandi eso se-TV.'

('Would you please increase for me the TV volume')

[And later]

'Ungakhe uzame nje ukuthula okomzuzwana ndikhe ndive ukuba zithini iindaba.'

('Would you please try to be quiet just for a moment, I would like to hear what is on the news.')

Taken out of context, these forms of requests are more polite than the more normal **'Nyusa isandi'** and **'Khawuthule'**. But in this case they are inappropriately indirect as it is clear that the couple are more irritated with one another, and the increasingly elaborate request forms the husband employs testifies to his mounting anger with his wife.

The third reason is that some speech acts seem almost inherently impolite. For example, there is no polite way of asking someone to stop picking his or her nose, and whichever way you approach it it is always going to be offensive.

(i) 'Ndingakucela ngembeko ukuba uyeke ukugqogqa iimpumlo. Okanye-Andazi nokuba ndingakucela ngembeko ukuba uyeke ukugqogqa iimpumlo.'

('Can I ask you with all due respect to stop picking your nose' or 'I don't know if I can ask you with respect to stop picking your nose.')

(ii) 'Khawuyeke ukugqogqa iimpumlo.'

('Would you stop picking your nose.')

This does not necessarily imply that there is no relationship between surface linguistic forms and politeness, such as in the following utterances even though the conclusion to them is debatable:

(i) Ndicela uhambe. *(Would you please go)?*

(ii) Hamba. *(Go.)*

(iii) Khawundikhwelele. *(Just leave me alone/ Buzz off).*

This brings us to the fact that in pragmatics, all we can do is to observe what is said and the effect of what is said on the hearer because we cannot assess politeness reliably out of context. The linguistic form cannot render the speech act polite or impolite on its own, but it can be able to do that with the context of utterance plus the relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

2.1.5 Politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon

Under this phenomenon, politeness is interpreted as a strategy or series of strategies employed by a speaker to achieve a variety of goals such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations. In addition to speech act strategies there are other strategies which include forms of conventional indirectness. These pragmatic approaches of politeness are grouped under three headings:

- (i) Leech's conversational maxim view,
- (ii) Brown and Levinson's face management view, and
- (iii) Fraser's conversational-contract view.

There is another approach proposed by Spencer-Oatey called 'pragmatic scales view' which is the combination of the strengths of the previous approaches.

2.2 Politeness in terms of principles and maxims

According to Leech, politeness is crucial in explaining why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean, and he continues to say that politeness can satisfactorily explain the apparent deviations from Co-operative Principle. He further introduces two concepts that are relevant to this discussion, which are- ambivalence and pragmatic principle.

2.2.1 Ambivalence and politeness

It is difficult to put politely in words something which by its nature is likely to cause offence to the hearer especially when we are dealing with surface level of encoding of politeness. At the same time, it is possible to convey messages which the hearer is liable to find disagreeable without causing undue offence and this could be done by employing an utterance which has more than one potential pragmatic force. This is illustrated clearly in the following example and the verdict is left to the readers to decide, consider:

- (i) what the precise force of the message is, and
- (ii) whether or not it applies to them (readers)

Example 11:

Notice in one of the top restaurants in Melrose Arch:

Xa ufuna ukukonwabela ukutya kwakho, ngokuqhelekileyo awusayi kutshaya. Ngaphaya koko, ukuba uyatshaya uza kube uphazamisa abanye ukuba bangakonwabeli ukutya kwabo.

(If you want to enjoy your food, usually you would not smoke. Besides, if you do smoke, you would be disturbing others not to enjoy their food).

2.2.2 Pragmatic principles

Leech's 'Politeness Principle' (PP) is about minimizing the expression of impolite beliefs and maximizing the expression of polite beliefs. In this principle, Leech is trying to explain why speakers do not always observe the Gricean maxims of Cooperative Principle (CP). It has been discovered that there is a great deal of evidence proving that people do respond consciously to consideration of politeness. For example, people will often explicitly mark the fact that they cannot or do not intend to observe politeness norms. Look at the following example:

Example 12:

'Jonga, andiyazi indlela engcono endinokuyibeka ngayo le nto. Ndinomntwana nomyeni wakho kwaye ekushiya nje, uzotshata mna.'

(Look here, I don't know the best way of saying this. I have a child with your husband- and he is leaving you to marry me.)

Leech introduces a number of maxims to explain the relationship between sense and force in human conversations. These maxims are: Tact; Generosity; Approbation; Modesty; Agreement and Sympathy. They are formulated as imperatives and Leech claims that they are simply statements of norms that speakers can be observed to follow. Some care need to be taken with the interpretation of the term 'other', which is used in each of Leech's

maxims. This 'other' could be a relative stranger or someone with whom the speaker is on intimate terms. Below is the discussion of all Leech's maxims.

2.2.2.1 The tact maxim

This maxim is about minimizing the expression of beliefs that imply cost to other and maximizing the expression of beliefs that imply benefit to the other. One aspect of the Tact maxim relates to the third pragmatic parameter which is the 'size of imposition'. In relation to this, minimizers can be used to reduce the implied cost to the hearer, but whether or not the strategy is perceived as polite or not, that is culture-bound as illustrated in the following expressions:

Ungakhe uthi gqi ngapha nje...

Would you pop in hear just for...

Yima kancinci! Khawume!

Wait a moment! Just a minute!

Ndisenengxakana nje endinayo.

I just have a bit of a problem.

A second aspect of the Tact maxim is that of mitigating the effect of a request by offering optionality. Allowing options or giving the impression of allowing options is central to Western and African notions of politeness, but Spencer-Oatey argues that this has little place in the Chinese conception of politeness. For example, if you go into these Chinese shops looking for a specific clock and is not there, the shop owner who happens to be Chinese would not necessarily convince you, but force you to take anything that will show time, and they like saying: '**take this one mama, cheap, cheap mama. What about this one, it is good, take it, cheap**'. As if you said you said you were looking for something cheap.

A third component of the Tact maxim is the cost\ benefit scale, that is, if something is perceived as being to the hearer's benefit, X (an expression) can be expressed politely without employing indirectness. **Fumana ikomityi yeti.** (*Have a cup of tea.*) However, if X

is seen as being costly to the hearer, greater indirectness may be required: **Ndingakhe ndifumane elinye lala maqebengwane akho?** (*May I have one of your biscuits?*)

2.2.2.2 The Generosity maxim

This maxim deals with minimizing the expression of benefit to self and maximizing the expression of cost to self. This is mostly about minimizing the expression of cost to other and maximizing the expression of benefit to other. The generosity maxim then explains why it is fine to say: **Kufanele uze kuchitha iiholide zePasika kunye nathi**, while the proposition that we will come and spend Easter holidays with you requires a great degree of indirectness.

According to Leech, languages or cultures vary in the degree to which you are expected to apply this maxim, under-applying it will make the speaker appear mean: (**Fumana ukhozo lombona**), over-applying it will seem sarcastic, as illustrated in the following examples:

Example 13:

The butler to his boss:

‘ Mhlekezzi, fumana nali ithontsi lewayini.’

(Sir, have a drop of wine.)

Example 14:

The butler to his boss who is hell-bent on redecoration:

‘ Hayi, chopha nje kanjalo wena mhlekazi, umane ukhomba ngophakathi, ndiza kuduntsuza, ndimhoka-mhokane nale mfumba yempahla de ime ngale ndlela ufuna ngayo...’

(No, you sit just like that Sir, pointing with your middle finger and I will move all this heavy furniture from pillar to post, until it is just the way you want it...)

As far as this maxim is concerned, we have to bear in mind that we are dealing with the importance attached to the linguistic expression of generosity and not that members of one culture are really more generous than members of another culture; that is of no significance here.

2.2.2.3 The Approbation maxim

According to this maxim, we minimize the expression of beliefs that dispraise of other and maximize the expression of beliefs that express approval of other. What this means is that, all things equal we prefer to praise others and if we cannot do so, then we would choose to sidestep the issue, give some sort of minimal response or remain silent. Again, cultures vary in the degree to which criticism is acceptable and in any society there will be times when adverse criticism is expressed very strongly, and some activity types (e.g. in the South African National Assembly) where gratuitously vicious and destructive criticism is the norm. Therefore, it is normal to say: **Ndiye ndakonwabela ukufunda isincoko sakho**, while if you did not enjoy it, you either keep quiet about that or convey the fact more directly.

It is important also to note that the 'other' may not be the person directly addressed, but something or someone dear to her or him. In most societies it is as unacceptable to say: **Nguwe ovelise ezi hagu?** (*Are you the one who produced these pigs?*) as it would be to ask: **Aba bantwana bamdaka kangaka ngabakho?** (*Are these filthy children yours?*)

In pragmatics we often become aware of the fact that the norm or regularity exists only when someone fails to observe it and an immature member of the group or an outsider often does this to a particular group.

2.2.2.4 The Modesty maxim

This particular maxim is about minimizing the expression of praise of self and maximizing the expression of dispraise of self. This maxim varies greatly in its application from culture to culture. For example, the Japanese tend to reject a compliment which had been paid to them whereas in the English-speaking societies it is customarily more polite to graciously accept a compliment by thanking the speaker for it rather than to go on denying it. This has also become more prominent amongst African societies.

Example 15:

A: Ibe mnandi ingxubusho yakho.

(Your presentation was wonderful.)

B: Inene! Enkosi kakhulu.

(Oh! really! Thank you very much.)

In the following example, speaker A consistently invokes the Modesty maxim, while B is invoking the Approbation maxim.

Example 16:

Speakers A and B were presenting papers in a seminar, and A was the first one to present:

A: Andiqhubanga kakubi noko, andithi?

(I didn't do that bad, didn't I?)

B: Hayi, uqhube kakuhle kakhulu.

(No, you actually did very well.)

A few hours later, during lunch, A continues to comment about her presentation:

B: Ibe ntle kakhulu ingxubusho yakho.

(Your presentation was very good.)

A: Iyancomeka, akunjalo?

(It is commendable, isn't?)

Even though in this discussion there is no suggestion that any one group is more modest than another, there are individuals within any culture who are genuinely modest or immodest, as illustrated in the following example:

Example 17:

The person referred to is Brenda Fassie, a highly acclaimed South African pop idol. She was being interviewed after the release of her most recent album 'Vulindlela', which has been in the top five lists of all radio stations and TV channels:

Xa ebecelwa ukuba achonge icwecwe eliphambili lonyaka, ukhethe elakhe.

(When asked to choose the hit album of the year, she chose hers.)

Example 18:

Another journalist writing about this pompous behaviour of this pop diva, said:

Okunjalo ukuzigwagwisa, yitalente nje yokujongela phantsi ubuncwane, impucuko nenkcubeko yoluntu.

(Such pomposity, a waste of talent that undermines civilization and culture of our society.)

Incidents such as this one often jar or cause embarrassment or outrage and point out the existence of a particular norm in a given society.

2.2.2.5 The Agreement maxim

According to this maxim, it is important to minimize the expression of disagreement between self and other, and maximize the expression of agreement between self and other. The usual caveats also do apply with this maxim concerning the need to take account of the relationship between speaker and hearer and of the nature of the interaction in which they are involved. What is being done here is to observe that people are much more direct in expressing their agreement than disagreement, but that doesn't mean that they avoid disagreeing with one another. For example, from time to time you will hear someone holding an opposed view to the one expressed begin a counter-argument by saying: **Ewe kodwa...** Compare the following expressions:

Example 19:

A: Andifuni ukuba umntwana wam enze izifundo zeBhayibhile, ndifuna enze ezobugcisa.

(I don't want my child to do Biblical Studies; I want her to do Engineering.)

B: Ewe ndiyavuma, kodwa ke bendicinga ukuba besiwusombulule lo mba kwixa elidlulileyo.

(I agree, but I thought that we had agreed on this issue the last time we talked.)

Example 20:

A: Lo mntwana uyazonwabela izifundo zakhe, ndicinga ukuba uya kuqhuba kakuhle kakhulu kwizifundo zeBhayibhile.

(This child enjoys her studies; I think that she would do well in Biblical Studies.)

B: Hayi akuzulunga. Andivumi. Ndiyala. Andivumelani nje kwaphela naloo nto.

(No, that would not work. I don't agree. I don't agree with that at all.)

2.2.2.6 The Pollyanna Principle

The observance of this principle leads us into putting the best possible gloss on what we have to say, that is looking on the bright side of minimizers such as a bit ('**This coffee is a bit strong**', when in fact it is much too strong), but at the same time this is a strategy mostly related to the reduction of the size of imposition.

Other aspects of the Pollyanna Principle relate to the relexicalization, replacing an unpleasant term with a supposedly less unpleasant one. However, there are instances of the Pollyanna Principle that do not seem to be explained by other maxims or principles. For example, in English, 'Good luck!' means 'I wish you good luck' or 'all the best', whereas 'Bad luck!' does not wish the hearer bad luck but just an expression of commiseration. Examples of the Pollyanna Principle could be found also in interpersonal pragmatics as illustrated in the following examples:

Example 21:

The speaker had just lost her two-year old cellphone:

Aag! Ndiyathemba ukuba ndiza kufumana ekumgangatho ophezulu kunale, mhlawumbi enekhamera.'

(Aag! I hope I will get a more advanced than this one, maybe the one with a camera.)

Example 22:

The speakers were discussing the bad impression their students would gain because of the bad weather on a field excursion:

A: Ngelishwa, ababuboni ubuhle bale ndawo.

(Unfortunately they can't see the beauty of this place, at its best.)

B: Ewe, kodwa kungcono kuba akugquthi.

(That is true, but it is better because it is not windy.)

Example 23:

A managing member of the company has to tell one of her managers that he has not been given the promotion he had hoped for:

'Ubaluleke gqitha kule ndawo ukuyo. Ukuba singakunika esinye isikhundla, inkampani ingalahlekelwa kakhulu kwicandelo lezophuhliso.'

(You are very important in the position that you hold. If we could give you another position, the company would lose a lot in the marketing department.)

In the following example, the speaker manages to out-Pollyanna Pollyanna by finding something positive to say about a rotten egg.

Example 24:

This is a famous 'Curator's Egg joke', as old as far back in the 1890's. Speaker A is a Bishop and speaker B is a curate:

A: Ndinoloyiko, ingathi iqanda lakho lonakele.

(I am afraid it seems as if your egg is spoilt.)

B: Oh! Hayi Mhlekezi, ndiyakuqinisekisa wena, iindawa-ndawana ezithile zalo, zingungqa-phambili.

(Oh! no Sir I assure you, certain parts of it are still the best.)

2.2.3 Problems with the Leech's approach

The problem with Leech's approach to politeness is that it appears that there is no motivated way of restricting the number of maxims. For example, the limited applicability of the 'Pollyanna Principle' makes the theory at best inelegant and at worst virtually unfalsifiable because it has been possible to produce a new maxim to explain each irregularity or regularity as perceived in language use. However, Leech's approach has made it possible for us or rather allowed us to make specific cross-cultural differences in the perception of politeness and the use of politeness strategies. Furthermore, Leech's approach could work even much better if his maxims were seen as a series of socio-psychological constraints which are influencing the choices made within pragmatics universally. Others might be entirely culture-specific, open-ended lists in which the different factors influencing linguistic behaviour could be

ranked in terms of their relative importance in different cultures, or in different activity types that could be of utmost importance.

2.3 Politeness and the management of face

Central to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness is the concept of 'face' as proposed by Goffman (1967). The term 'face' could be seen in the sense of 'reputation' or 'good name'. Goffman defined face as:

'... the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes- albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself.

Within the theory of politeness, 'face' is best understood as every individual's feeling of self-worth or self-image, and this image can be damaged, maintained or enhanced through interaction with others. Face has a positive and a negative aspect. An individual's positive face is reflected in his or her desire to be liked, approved of and appreciated by others. An individual's negative face is the desire not to be impeded or put upon, to have the freedom to act as one chooses.

2.3.1 Face threatening acts

Face threatening acts (FTA's) are certain illocutionary acts that are liable to damage or threaten another person's face. An illocutionary act has the potential of doing the following damages:

- (i) To damage the hearer's positive face by insulting the hearer or expressing disapproval of something which hearer holds dear; or
- (ii) To damage the hearer's negative face, for example, an order will impinge upon hearer's freedom of action; or
- (iii) The illocutionary act may potentially damage the speaker's own positive face, for example, if speaker has to admit to having messed-up the plans or job;
- (iv) To damage speaker's negative face, such as when speaker is cornered into making an offer of help.

In order to reduce the possibility of damage to hearer's face or to speaker's own face, S (speaker) may adopt certain strategies that may be influenced by the his or her assessment of the size of the FTA. The size of the FTA can be calculated on the basis of the parameters of power (P), distance (D) and rating of imposition (R). Combined together, these values determine the overall weightiness of the FTA which in turn influences the strategy used.

2.3.1.1 Superstrategies for performing face-threatening acts

Brown and Levinson advise that the first decision to be made is whether to perform the FTA or not, and if at all the speaker decides to perform the FTA, there are four options to choose from. These possibilities are divided into three sets of 'on-record' super-strategies, which are:

- (1) Performing the FTA on-record without redressive action and this is also known as 'bold-on-record';
- (2) Performing the FTA on-record using positive politeness;
- (3) Performing the FTA on-record using negative politeness; and
- (4) One set of 'off-record' strategies.

If the degree of face threat is too great, the speaker may decide to avoid the FTA altogether by saying nothing.

Each set of these superstrategies is discussed in detail according to their order.

2.3.1.2 Performing an FTA without redress (bold-on record)

There are occasions whereby external factors confine an individual to speak very directly. For example, in emergencies or highly task-oriented situations such as teaching someone how to drive, we find that the speaker is likely to focus on the propositional context of the message and pay less attention to the interpersonal aspect\ of what is said:

Example 25:

Lizo musa ukonyuka phezu kwezo ngxowa zombona azipakwanga ngendlela, ziyadilika. Lizo khawukhe uve xa uxelelwa, yingozi le udlalela kuyo. Heyi gqada-mbekwenindini, suka apho ngawo lo mzuzu.

(Lizo don't climb on those mielies bags, they are not properly packed and they fall. Lizo would you listen when you are told, just once, you are playing in a dangerous zone. Hey you little tweet, get out of that place now.)

If the overall weightiness of the FTA is very small such as when the speaker is making a trivial request of someone she or he knows well and who has no power over her or him, the request may be made bald-on-record; and when the FTA is perceived as being in the hearer's interest. Consider the following illustrations:

Example 26:

A mother to her daughter:

'Vala iifestile ezo, Minky.'

(Minky, close those windows.)

Example 27:

A speaker to her colleague:

'Fumana ikomityi yeti.'

(Have a cup of tea.)

In cases where the power differential is great, the powerful participant will often employ no indirectness as in the following example:

Example 28:

The speaker is the principal of a school. He is addressing students at assembly:

'Ngalo lonke ixesha ititshala okanye nalo naliphi na ilungu lesitafu lingena egumbini lokufundela, wonke umfundi umele eme ngeenyawo. Kufanele nithobele imigaqo nemithetho ebekiweyo ngalo lonke ixesha, ngaphakathi nangaphandle kwegumbi lokufundela. Utitshala okanye ilungu lesitafu xa lithe lawisa into nokuba yintoni na, uya ubalekile ukuya kuyichola. Awuvumelekanga ukuba uqhube incoko notitshala okanye nalo naliphi na ilungu lesitafu. Uya kuthi ugxothe ukuba uthe wophula omnye wale mithetho.'

(Each and everytime a teacher or any member of staff enters the classroom, as a student you must stand up. You are bound to obey all the set rules and regulations at all the time, inside and outside the classroom. If a teacher or a member of staff drops something, whatever it is, you must run to pick it up. You are not allowed to have casual chat with a teacher or any member of staff. Failure to obey either of the above rules, you will be expelled from school.)

At times, the speaker takes no redressive action as she or he has deliberately chosen to be maximally offensive. The following examples illustrate just that:

Example 29:

A captain of a school soccer team referring to female soccer players:

Andihambisani nje kwaphela nale yokubandakanywa kwamantombazana kumdlalo webhola ekhatywayo. Bayimpoxo, kwaye yindlela nje yokubambezela inkqubela. Ngamabhetye-bhetye nje angakwazi nokubaleka, adinwa kwangoko. Kutheni engayi kudlala ibhola yomnyazi nje, wona mdlalo ofanele wona?

(I totally disagree with the inclusion of girls in soccer. They are such a disgrace and are just delaying progress in the sport. They are weak and don't even have stamina. Why don't they play netball a sport which is suitable for them?)

Example 30:

Tony Leon, an MP in the National Assembly, referring to the Deputy President, Jacob Zuma on the issue of 'Arms Deal':

'Ndithi kule ndlu, uyayazi le mali, uyityile, lixoki. Makarhoxiswe kwisikhundla sobusekela-mongameli.'

(I am saying to this house, he knows this money, he has taken it, and he is a liar. He must be removed as a deputy-president.)

Example 31:

Judge Heath in the court case brought by the South African government on the 'Arms Deal', referring to the evidence given by Mo Shaik who was accusing the Public Prosecutor Bulelani Ngcuka of being the apartheid government's spy, he said:

'Ubungqina bakhe buzicwiyana ezingabambekiyo nezibubuvuvu nje. Ngoko ke azinakusetyenziswa njengobungqina obububo.'

('His evidence was made up of bits and pieces of useless information. Therefore, it cannot be used as concrete evidence.')

2.3.1.3 Performing an FTA with redress (positive politeness)

According to this theory, it is said that when you speak to someone, you orientate yourself towards that individual's positive face and employ positive politeness which appeals to the hearer's desire to be liked and approved of. There are about fifteen positive politeness strategies listed by Brown and Levinson.

Example 32:

During a Fresher's Ball, a male third-year student talking to a first-year female student, whom he doesn't know:

'Heyi nomdakazana, uthe ufunda ntoni ke? Oh! Ezonxibelelwano? Wamkelekile enqanaweni! Nam ndenza zona, ngunyaka wam wesithathu lo.'

(Hey brown-skin, what are you studying? Oh! Communication. Welcome aboard! I am also studying communication, this is my third year.)

This young man has employed almost three of Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategies:

He employed 'in-group identity markers' (**nomdakazana**), 'express interest in hearer' (**ufunda ntoni**), 'claim common ground' (**wamkelekile enqanaweni**). Some of Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategies find close parallels in Leech's politeness principles such as: 'seek agreement', 'avoid disagreement', 'be optimistic', and 'give sympathy'.

2.3.1.4 Performing an FTA with redress (negative politeness)

Negative politeness is orientated towards a hearer's negative face that appeals to the hearer's desire not to be impeded or put upon and to be left free to act as they choose. Negative politeness manifests itself in the use of conventional politeness markers, deference markers, minimizing imposition, etc. Brown and Levinson list ten negative politeness strategies, some of which are included in the following example:

Example 33:

This is a note written by a lady after she was stood-up by her friend. They had arranged to meet but the young man happened to forget about the appointment:

Dear Lubabalo

Ndiyaxolisa ngokuba ndikuphosile namhlanje. Bendifuna kakhulu ukuxoxa nawe nge... Andizimisele kuzinyakathisa, kodwa xa unganalo ixesha mhlawumbi emva kwemini ngoMgqibelo, singadibana nokuba kukwaMugg & Bean, sifumane into ephungwayo? Ndingakonwabela kakhulu oko.

Iminqweno emyoli kuwe

[.....]

Dear Lubabalo

I am sorry I missed you today. I really wanted to talk to you about... I don't mean to impose, but if you could have time on Saturday afternoon, maybe we can meet at Mugg & Bean and have coffee. I would really love that.

Best wishes

[.....]

Salutation is an example of strategy 5 ('give deference') **singadibana** is an example of strategy 1 ('be conventionally indirect'), **mhlawumbi** is an example of strategy 2 ('hedge'), **xa unokufumana ixesha** is an example of strategy 4 ('minimize imposition'), **andizimisele kuzinyakathisa** and **ndiyaxolisa ngokuba ndikuphosile** are examples of strategy 6 ('admit the impingement' and 'beg for forgiveness'),

bendifuna... is an example of strategy 7 ('point of view distancing')- here the tense is switched from present to past so that the writer distanced herself from the act, **ndingakonwabela kakhulu oko** is an example of strategy 10 ('go-on-record in incurring a debt').

Many warning notices that have a wide readership employ negative politeness. In the following example, strategy 7 ('impersonalise S and H') has been invoked:

Example 34:

This is a notice pasted on the wall of the toilet in the Umtata Constituency office, for everyone to see when he or she opens the door. It reads:

Molo qabane!

Andisavuyanga ngako nje kukundwendwelwa nguwe, kodwa ndiya kuvuya nangakumbi xa unokuthi undishiye ndibeth'umoya lucoceko.

Amaa--andla!!!

Hello comrade!

I am so happy that you have visited me, but I will be happier if you would leave me with a fresh breath of cleanliness.

Amaa--andla!!!

This notice applies to everyone, from an ordinary member to MP, Premier and even the President, as there is only one toilet.

It is also important to note that not only human beings use negative politeness. In the following example, Timon the cartoon character in the movie "The Lion King" employs strategy 8 ('state FTA as a general rule') to get Simba, the lion not to eat him

'Simba, usisigculelo ekuhlaleni njengam. Loo nto isenze sibe banye mna nawe; singamaphuth'ahlathinye. Ngoko ke awunakunditya. Abahlobo abatyani.'

('Simba, you are a curse and an outcast in your community just like I am in mine. In my books, that make us the same, you and I, we are counterparts. Therefore, you cannot eat me. Friends don't eat each other.')

2.3.1.5 Performing an FTA using off-record politeness

There is a list of about fifteen strategies for performing off-record politeness as proposed by Brown and Levinson. They include: 'give hints', 'use metaphors', 'be ambiguous or vague'. Here three examples are highlighted, the first of strategy 1 (hinting), the second of strategy 9 involving 'invoking the metaphor' and the final example is of strategy 15 ('be incomplete', 'use ellipses') and this is the most frequently encountered off-record politeness strategy:

Example 36:

'Akuyiyo incwadi kaZakes Mda, ethi 'Ways of Dying' le uyifundayo? Akujalo?

(Isn't what you are reading a book by Zakes Mda, 'Ways of Dying' isn't?)

Example 37:

A young lady responding to the letter from her friend who was enquiring about her love affair or relationship with a young man from Zimbabwe, writes:

The golden cup has broken.

Example 38:

A senior lecturer to the newly appointed junior lecturer, who will be taking over two classes from Mr Hoo, who was responsible for these classes in the first semester:

Iyandonwabisa kakhulu into yokuba uza kuthatha ezi klasi, kodwa ndingathanda ukuba ukhe uthi bavu-bavu nje wena ukusukela kumsebenzi wokuqala konyaka. Ewe, ndiyazi ukuba sele ewenzile uMnu. Hoo, kodwa ke...

(It makes me happy knowing that you will be taking over these classes but I would really like to make a brief overview on the first semester's work. I know that Mr Hoo has dealt with it, but....).

The senior lecturer is reluctant to criticize one lecturer in front of another but this new lecturer forces him to go 'on-record' and he goes on to say:

Kodwa umsebenzi wakhe ubungancomeki, ndingatsho nje wena ndithi ee... 'Uluhlaza'

(His performance was not up to standard, I would say emm... 'He was green'.)

2.3.1.6 Do not perform FTA

There are times when something is potentially so face-threatening that you don't say it. Tanaka (1993) claims that there are two sorts of 'saying nothing' and she terms them the 'opting out choice' or OCC. There are times when the speaker decides to say nothing and genuinely wishes to let the matter drop, and there are also occasions when an individual decides to say nothing but still wishes to achieve the effect that the speech act would have achieved had it been uttered. Tanaka terms these two strategies OCC- genuine and OCC-strategic.

According to the OCC-genuine, the speaker does not perform a speech act and genuinely intends to let the matter remain closed. She or he does not intend to achieve the prelocutionary effect. On the other hand within the OCC-strategic, the speaker does not perform a speech act but expects A to infer her or his wish to achieve the prelocutionary effect.

There is another situation whereby there is such a strong expectation that something will be said that saying nothing is in itself a massive FTA, such as failing to express sympathy or condolences on the death of someone's loved one. Consider the following example:

Example 39:

The speaker was my supervisor at my last job. She didn't like me to an extent that she would try by all means to find something just to get to me. At one point, I was in hospital in Bloemfontein when I came back, she asked me to submit the hospital print-out to prove that I was really in hospital something that she never does with or to other staff members. I fetched it, and then she told me that I didn't have to because the doctor has already signed the leave forms. Then, sometime before I left she called me and said:

'Nkszn. Mokoena, indlela le osebenza ngayo ingathi ungumntu lo uhambayo, obetha amagqibela kaNkqoyi.'

(Miss Mokoena, you work so hard as if you are someone who is leaving-making final touches.)

That was so true that I didn't dispute it and I worked myself so hard because I didn't want her to have something to hold on to and in a month I was out of her face and out of her school. It was as if she was struck by lightning.

2.3.2 Criticisms of Brown and Levinson

The first criticism of Brown and Levinson's model of politeness is that their description of the FTA implies that an act is threatening to the face of either the speaker or the hearer, whereas in actual fact many acts can be seen to threaten the face of both the speaker and the hearer. For example, an 'apology' threatens the speaker's face in an obvious way, but it can also be the source of considerable embarrassment to the hearer.

Another flaw in Brown and Levinson's work is that they claim that positive and negative politeness are mutually exclusive whereas in practise, a single utterance can be oriented to both positive and negative face simultaneously.

Example 40:

A woman to an irritatingly pompous man:

"Jonga, ungakhe ulinge undiphambanele!"

Again, this model appears to predict that the greater the degree of face threat, the greater will be the degree of indirectness whereas there are quite a number of counter-examples which are readily available. For example, if you look at the bald-on-record illustrations given in examples 29, 30 and 31, you'll find very different norms of indirectness in operation within long-term relationships and within different sub-groups.

In conclusion, Brown and Levinson argue that some speech acts are inherently face-threatening, and based on the observations, we might conclude that some utterances pose no face-threat at all. In agreement with this view, Dascal (1977:315) argues that by merely speaking to someone, sets up what he terms 'conversational demand'. This view is further backed-up or rather supported by Nofsinger (1975) when he says that 'simply by speaking we trespass on another person's space'. In a nutshell, what this means is that, saying anything or even nothing at all for that matter, is potentially face-threatening.

2.4 Politeness viewed as a conversational contract

This is Fraser's brain-child in which he claims that people are constrained in interaction by 'conversational contract' (CC) which is an understanding that people bring to an interaction of the norms obtaining within that interaction and of their rights and obligations within it.

Within this model, Fraser takes a more socio-linguistically deterministic approach to politeness than do Leech or Brown and Levinson, whereby people employ the degree of politeness as required by the event or situation in which they find themselves.

According to Fraser (1990: 232) norms of politeness are:

'...renegotiable in light of the participants' perception and\ or acknowledgements of factors such as the status, the power, and the role of each speaker, and the nature of the circumstances.'

However, it is difficult to argue further about Fraser's model of politeness because it is very sketchy compared to that of Leech and that of Brown and Levinson, and it is also difficult to judge how it might operate in practice. His inclusion of the 'rights and obligations' dimensions is welcome and the approach fits in perfectly well with the notion of activity types.

2.5 Politeness measured along pragmatic scales

According to Spencer-Oatey (1992: 30-3) the way that Brown and Levinson (1987 & 1978) and Leech (1983a) formulated their theories of politeness, left them open to being criticized on the basis that they are culture biased. Spencer-Oatey proposes

sets of dimensions to be used to overcome the problems of cultural-specificity and suggests that individuals will select the point on the scale of these three sets of situation within which they are operating:

‘(Despite their different approaches) these various researchers have one thing in common; they all assume that face needs lie universally at set points on each of the relevant dimensions.... However, I contend that in different circumstances, different options may be favoured, and that factors such as type of speech act (Leech) and cultural variations (Wierzbicka) will influence which point on the dimension is preferred.’

Below are Spencer-Oatey’s scales (1992: 30):

1. Need for consideration	autonomy	imposition
2. Need to be valued	approbation	criticism
	interest\ concern	disinterest
3. Need for Relational Identity	inclusion	exclusion
	equality	super-ordination
		subordination

2.6 Conclusion

Most people have been very careful to define politeness as a pragmatic or communicative and not to equate it with any moral or psychological disposition towards being nice to one’s interlocutor. Green (1987: 147) has this to say:

‘...the speaker is really only going through the motions of offering options or showing respect for the addressee’s feelings. The offer may be a façade, the options nonviable, and the respect a sham. It is the fact that an effort was made to go through the motions at all that makes it the act of politeness.’

However, this specialized conception of politeness is misinterpreted to an extent that pragmaticists are accused of viewing the world through rose-colored glasses, of having a vision of society where everyone is nice and kind to everyone else. This misinterpretation is encouraged by the widespread use of the very term ‘politeness’, in every interaction.

It is also claimed that people employ certain strategies for reasons of expediency such as using certain strategies knowing that they succeed in given circumstances. Pyle (1975) as cited in Dascal (1983:161) proposed an approach which does not give the appearance of committing the analyst to any view of the psychological disposition of the speaker but that would relate the pragmatic choice of discourse goals.

In this approach Pyle argues that people employ indirectness when their communicative goals conflict. For example, when their desire to avoid hurting someone's feelings conflicts with their obligation to tell the truth:

'... Being indirect is a mechanism for dealing with conflicting intentions and desires. The general form of the conflict is that the speaker wants to convey X for some reason and he does not want to convey X for other reasons. By being indirect, he can convey X in one sense but not in another.'

Consider the following example:

Example 41:

Notice in a hotel room at the Inter-Continental chain of hotels:

Ndwendwe olubekekileyo, sifumanise kubalulekile ukuba sifakele iikhamera ezifihlakeleyo kwigumbi ngalinye ngenxa yokulahlekelwa ziingubo, imiqamelo, iitawuli, ukanti neeTV ziyathathwa. Ngoko ke, uyacelwa ukuba ungazisusi izinto ofike zikweli gumbi; uzishiye kwalapha.

Enkosi ngentsebenziswano yakho.

[Abaphathi]

(Dear distinguished guest, we found it important to install hidden cameras in each room because of the loss of blankets, pillows, towels and even the TV sets that we have experienced. We therefore appeal to you not to remove or take out things that you found in this room. Leave them here.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation.

[Management]

Example 42:

An interview as reported by the Daily Dispatch reporter, Ncedo Nkumbaca:

Ebuzwa ukuba nguye na lo uhambisa izithyolo zokuba lo kaBulelani Ngcuka wayengungcothoza wombuso wocalu-calulo, uMo Shaik akaphendulanga ngokuthe ngqo! Uthe: “Endikutshoyo kukuba bukhona ubungqina nanjengoko uphando lwathi lwenziwa ngeminyaka yowe-1988.”

(When asked if it is he the one spreading allegations that Bulelani Ngcuka was an apartheid government's spy, Mo Shaik didn't give a direct answer. He said: “What I am saying is that there is evidence as investigations were conducted in 1988 or so.”)

In example 41, the hotel authorities' choice of wording could be explained either within politeness theory or as prompted by a clash of goals, as they are reluctant to express their proposition directly, which is 'Do not steal hotel equipment' in fear of offending law-abiding guests.

In example 42, the indirectness is less readily explained by 'politeness' but it seems a classic case of a 'clash of goals'. Mo Shaik wanted to convey the fact that he had accused Bulelani Ngcuka of being the apartheid government's spy without going on-record with that fact, probably with the intention of denying it in future.

What is evident here is that competing goals seem to offer a more general explanatory framework per politeness strategy chosen.

CHAPTER 3: A THEORY OF IMAGE RESTORATION

3.1 Accounts, Excuses and Apologies

According to William Benoit (1995), human beings engage in recurrent patterns of communicative behaviour designed to reduce, redress, or avoid damage to their reputation from perceived wrong-doing. As human beings, we are repeatedly faced with situations that impel us to explain or justify our behaviour, to offer excuses or apologies for those aspects of our behaviour that offend and provoke reproach from those around us.

Knowing that our face, image, or reputation is our valuable commodity, we therefore not only desire a healthy image of ourselves, but we want others to think favourably of us as well. It is of this reason that Benoit felt that the communicative activity of excuse-making or image restoration deserves serious study not only because it pervades social life, but also because it serves an important function in life of every human being that of helping to restore our precious reputations.

Benoit has also discovered that in almost all the studies by himself and Lindsey (1987) and Benoit and Gullifor, and Panici (1991) there has been a common thread, that they are all concerned with rhetorical attempts to restore the person's image after being the target of blame and this has made him to realize that discourse that apologizes, makes excuses, or otherwise attempts to restore a favourable image is pervasive. All this has made him to conclude that even though there were a number of treatments or rather approaches to this topic such as Rosenfield (1968), Ware and Linkugel (1973) and Burke (1970), not even a single one of them had developed a comprehensive theory of excuses and apologies in public discourse.

To counteract these shortfalls, Benoit decided that it would be desirable to develop an integrated or general theory of image restoration drawing heavily on both rhetorical criticism of apologia and work on accounts.

With this brief overview of what informed Benoit with this theory of Image Restoration strategies, we will now get into the actual summary of his work.

3.2 Introduction

Benoit suggests that there are four basic reasons why people should always attempt to restore their reputation after alleged or suspected wrong-doing.

The first reason is that we inhabit a world of limited resources and therefore we often fiercely compete for tangible and intangible goods such as money, time, office space, computers and other equipments, etc. What this means is that the allocation of these resources often provokes the ire of those who desired a different distribution.

Secondly, sometimes circumstances beyond our control prevent us from meeting our obligations such as becoming delayed by traffic and arrive late for a meeting; losing a document or files, or forgetting to inform others that the meeting has been rescheduled for another day, etc. This information indicates that our behaviour is therefore significantly influenced by other people, events and environment around us, and these factors frequently create problems for us and those who depend on us.

The third reason is the fact that human beings are imperfect and therefore they are bound or destined to make mistakes, some honestly and others often guided by self-interests. For example, one may forget to make a call to apologize for not doing what she or he had to do, or to bring a report to a meeting because it has discrepancies, or to buy bread on the way home from work or a carpenter may decide to use a cheaper material for built-in kitchen cupboards. In most cases than not, alcohol, drugs or lack of sleep may cloud our judgement and hinder the proper performance of our duties.

The fourth and last reason is the fact that the individuality of human beings who have own and different sets of priorities, is mostly the cause of conflict among those with competing goals. With all these factors in mind we realize that the actual or perceived wrong-doing is a recurrent feature of human activity.

All these aspects are inevitable misbehaviours and when they occur others are most likely to accuse, attack, berate, blame, censure, condemn, rail against, rebuke, or reproach us or object to our behaviour.

Similarly, others may complain about things we said and did, they can carp about things left unsaid or undone and they might criticize the way in which we performed an action or

phrased an utterance, and all these attacks do pose a serious or critical threat on our reputation, face and image and later make it difficult or even impossible for us to create important favourable impressions on others. What this means is that these attacks might create a bad impression for us which will interfere with our interactions with others. For example, if one is accused of being a liar, generally that makes it difficult or even impossible for the accused to be believed by others even when she or he is telling the truth.

When our image is threatened, we feel compelled to offer explanations, defences, justifications, rationalizations, apologies or excuses for our behaviour, and these are verbal responses which are in actual fact image restoration strategies or attempts.

Defensive communicative acts adopt a variety of stances or strategies and the first is denial which is used to avoid blame. This is the common response to charges of misconduct by simply denying any and all allegations. If the audience accepts that the accusation is false, damage to the accused's reputation from that attack should then be diminished, if not eradicated.

At times, the strategy of denial is reinforced in that the accused does not only deny the accusation but also offer an explanation for the apparently incriminating evidence. Sometimes, the accused defend their image with the claim of innocence by shifting the blame to the allegedly and truly guilty part. For example, the former Bafana-Bafana coach Shakes Mashaba blamed the team's loss on the unavailability of the South African international players which to a certain extent was true. He also added that even the upper structure or body that is SAFA, was involved in sabotaging his work and performance as a coach. In other words, this signifies the fact that denial may be supplemented with explanations of apparently damaging facts or scapegoating. Thus, if the audience accepts the denial, then the accused's image should be rehabilitated.

Another strategy for dealing with criticism is to respond in kind, attacking accusers. Responding to accusations that the Eastern Cape government has robbed the ex-miners' families of monies that were due to them, the then Premier, Makhenkesi Stofile attacked the accusers for distorting the information 'making lies the truth and making the truth the lies', (ukujika ubuxoki bube yinyaniso, ujike inyaniso ibe bubuxoki').

This is the same strategy used by Mac Maharaj in the Ngcuka-spy saga, during the Hefer commission. In his testimony, he said, '[Ngcuka has used his post] to criminally defame

people and institutions'. He was responding to the allegations that he was also being investigated by the Scorpions and that is the reason why he also believed or rather confirmed that the Public Prosecutor, Bulelani Ngcuka was an apartheid government's spy. (*Sunday Times* 19\10\03)

Counterattacks like these undermine the credibility of the accusations and in so doing helping to restore the accused's image. They may also function to shift away the audience's attention from the alleged wrong-doing of the original target to the new target or prey.

Regarding charges that are difficult or impossible to deny, it is possible to admit guilt and still attempt to restore one's reputation. For example, during the ANC list conferences the Western Cape ANC Provincial secretary Mcebisi Skwatsha, responding on the three racial lists in the province, denied that he was responsible for compiling the Africanist list but said that the list has been drawn-up in response to the Coloured Christian list. (*Sunday Times*, October 2003) If these statements are accepted, they should limit the extent of the harm attributable to the accused and presumably limit the damage to their faces. Corrie Sanders, the South African Heavyweight boxer commenting on the reasons for his loss after losing to the Ukrainian Vitali Klitschko, he said:

"If I fight him again, I'll wait for him to come to me, for him to make the mistakes. I made mistakes. It's great for the world and South Africa to see me show heart and take shots, but I am still the loser. It means nothing. I wanted to win" (*I've been hit harder by others! Sanders, May 2, 2004- Sunday Times*)

While not denying that he lost, Sanders claimed that he wanted to win. Thus, the statements he made in connection to his fight should as well limit the damage to his image.

Another defensive strategy for dealing with charges of wrong-doing that cannot be denied is to apologise for misconduct and this makes it possible for those who commit wrongful acts to attempt to repair their reputation with a sincere apology. Consider the following illustration as an example: Lynn Giles, the then apartheid government's security police and now the tourism official and promoter of Shamwari Game Reserve, admitted and apologised for giving information that was a matter of life and death on her current boss Cheryl Carolus, the South African Tourism head. (*The spy who came into the fold- April 2004, Sunday Times*)

Sometimes, those accused of wrong-doing will take action to correct the problem. Thus, those who have allegedly committed wrong-doings suggest that they have mended their ways. A locally manufactured Toyota S.A has agreed to pay the R12- million “administrative penalty” after the Competition Commission said the company’s practice of fixing minimum prices for cars amounted to breaking the country’s competition laws. (*Car maker accused of ripping off buyers in SA- The Star May 10, 2004*)

Following the enquiry by the Commission of Judge Jali about the Grootvlei scandal with the prison warders who were offering illegal favours for the inmates such as smuggling in dagga, arranging junior inmates as sexual objects or as prostitutes, etc., the warder who was responsible for all the corruption after the enquiry was removed from the prison to the regional offices.

These examples demonstrate that the communicative act of repairing a damaged reputation is commonplace. As blame occurs throughout human life, and as face is important for virtually everyone, a need to cleanse one’s reputation with discourse, occurs throughout our lives, public and private. According to image restoration or accounts:

- (a) Is to show how ordinary social actors understand their world through casual explanations,
- (b) To examine how poorly handled predicaments can create conflict,
- (c) To show that predicaments often involve rewards and punishments for participants, and
- (e) To help actors maintain a positive self-image.

Various approaches are available for examining verbal self-defense, some developed in the rhetorical literature and some in sociology. An examination of the literature reveals three key statements on image restoration through discourse, in the works of Burke, Ware and Linkugel, and Scott and Lyman and all these are foundational writings in the area of image restoration discourse.

Kenneth Burke offers a more theoretical analysis of image restoration discourse by using the term “guilt” to represent an undesirable state of affairs that can be remedied through defensive discourse. He says that there are two fundamental processes for explaining guilt

or restoring one's good reputation and they are: victimage, scapegoating, or shifting the blame; and mortification or admitting wrong-doing and asking forgiveness. (Burke, 1973)

Ware and Linkugel's (1973) theory of apologia is widely used in rhetorical criticism of speeches of self-defense. Drawing from the work of social psychologist Abelson (1959), they identified four factors or rhetorical strategies of rhetorical self-defense, which are: denial, bolstering, differentiation and transcendence. They suggest that these strategies are further combined in pairs to form four postures of defense.

On the other hand Scott and Lyman's (1968) work on accounts offer a taxonomy which is the provision of accounts for a behaviour that is subjected to the criticism of others. They argue that excuses are accounts in which the accused admits that the act was wrong in some way but does not accept full responsibility for that act, and that justifications are accounts in which the accused accepts responsibility for the act but reject the claim that it was a wrongful act.

In sum, defensive utterances such as excuses, justifications, apologies, etc. are pervasive attempts employed or used in order to reshape another's beliefs, to change his or her belief that the act in question was wrongful, or to shift his or her attribution of responsibility for that act.

The following sections of this chapter will be the examination of rhetorical approaches on speeches of self-defense or apologia, followed by the review on image restoration and accounts, and then the development of the theory of image restoration discourse.

3.3 Rhetorical Approaches to Image Restoration

This section is divided into six sub-sections the first being the early, embryonic rhetorical criticism of image restoration discourse, followed by four systematic approaches to analysis of this genre of discourse: Rosenfield's analog, Ware and Linkugel's theory of apologia, Burke's theory of purification, and Ryan's kategoria-apologia approach. The final sub-section is the discussion of the work that does not fit neatly into these categories but also deals with the rhetorical approaches of image restoration.

3.3.1 Early critical studies of self-defense discourse

Amongst the earliest examples of rhetorical criticism of defensive discourse, there is the analysis of Richard Nixon's speech by Baskerville (1952) whereby he exposes weaknesses in Nixon's arguments, suggesting that the speech was effective because it created a favourable façade of the audience.

McGuckin (1956) also provided a more extensive analysis of the same speech by focussing more on the values employed by Nixon. McGuckin argued that Nixon's speech was more successful because of his identification with the American values. Both analyses provide no clear emphasis on image restoration.

Another example is that of Jackson's (1956) study of Clarence Darrow, an example of a traditional rhetorical criticism describing the background and the outcome of the case and evaluating the effectiveness of Darrow's speech in self-defense against charges of bribing a jury. In Maloney's (1955) analysis, there are four features of Darrow's defense: providing historic background, characterizing the prosecution as evil, using invective against the prosecution, and engaging in self-praise. These essays began to examine self-defense rhetoric on case-by-case basis, and it is therefore worth noting that as early as the mid 1950's it has been recognised in rhetorical criticism as highlighted by Jackson (1956), that attacking the opposition was a viable defensive strategy.

3.3.2 Rosenfield's analog

The first theoretical advance of image restoration discourse occurred when Rosenfield (1968) performed an analogic analysis of the "Checkers" speech by Nixon and a speech by Truman. In the speech, Nixon defended himself against charges that he benefited from a campaign fund whereas Truman's speech was a response to allegations that he had permitted a known Communist to remain in his administration.

Rosenfield identified four similarities in the two discourses to represent constants in the apologetic equation (1968). The four identified characteristics of apologetic discourse are: a brief, intense controversy; attacks on the opponent; a concentration of data in the middle third of the speech; and a recycling of arguments from recent speeches.

The first factor describes the scene more than the discourse, the second factor recognizes that attacks on one's opponents are another plausible strategy for dealing with criticism,

and the third and fourth factors give no idea of what sorts of claims or rhetorical strategies are developed by the data lumped in the middle or by the recycled arguments.

Rosenfield's work has been challenged and undermined but irrespective of these applications, his analysis of the two debatable defensive discourses (Nixon's speech and Truman's speech) occupies an important part in the development of the understanding of this recurrent form of rhetoric.

3.3.3 Ware and Linkugel's theory of Apologia

Ware and Linkugel proposed the theory of apologia by identifying four factors or rhetorical strategies of rhetorical self-defense. Their first strategy is 'denial' which consists of the simple disavowal by the speaker towards whatever it is that repels the audience and by so doing, restoring the rhetor's image. This strategy also includes denial of bad intent which is basically the claim that the act was performed with good intentions.

The second strategy is 'bolstering' which is basically any rhetorical strategy that reinforces the existence of a fact, object or relationship. In this strategy, a speaker attempts to identify himself with something viewed favourably by the audience. What this means is that this strategy neither disassociates the rhetor from the undesirable action nor attempts to reduce that event's perceived unpleasantness. Instead, it attempts to counterbalance or offset the audience's displeasure by associating the speaker with a different object or action, something of which the audience has positive effect. The aim here is to outweigh the negative perceptions from the undesirable act through the new positive perceptions.

The third strategy is 'differentiation' which is an attempt of separating some fact, sentiment, or object from some larger context in which the audience presently views that attribute (p.278). This is done by taking the threat to the rhetor's image out of a negative context with the hope that it is the negative context and not the object itself that courses the audience's hostility.

The final strategy is 'transcendence' which in actual fact places the object into a larger or broader and more favourable context instead of separating the object from an undesirable context, as it is the case with differentiation. What transcendence does is to 'move the audience away from the particulars of the charge at hand towards a more abstract, general view (p.280). We could use Deputy President Zuma's corruption case as an example,

whereby after being vindicated by the Public Protector (Mushwana), he portrayed himself not as a criminal but as a victim of the Public Prosecutor's personal vendetta and also as a people's hero.

Ware and Linkugel further identified for potential postures or stances of self-defense in which speeches of self-defense use either denial or bolstering coupled with either differentiation or transcendence which in turn establishes the following stances or postures:

- (a) Absolutive: Denial and Differentiation
- (b) Vindicative: Denial and transcendence
- (c) Explanative: Bolstering and Differentiation
- (d) Justificative: Bolstering and Transcendence

This theory of apologia turned out to be the most popular approach for analysing image restoration discourse. Kruse in her attempt to clearly define the apologetic situation, she argued that apologetic discourse responds to attacks on character but this was found to be limiting the use of the term apologia by excluding it from situations in which there is no formal attack and whereby the attack focuses on policy rather than character.

Rhetorical critics have therefore applied the theory of apologia to a variety of defensive discourses. Some critics have criticized the theory and some adjusted it, and others even gone beyond this theory as it is the case with Downey. She suggested that classical apologies enact vindication through denial and shifting the blame, although Ware and Linkugel do not discuss or say anything about shifting the blame. Downey also found counterattack to be a recurring substantive feature. Thus, unlike Ware and Linkugel, Downey identified shifting the blame and invective as recurrent features of contemporary apologia.

In conclusion, many studies have applied and even extended Ware and Linkugel's theory of apologia and arrived in conclusions that apologetic discourse concerns all spheres of life, such as in politics, sport, religion, corporate world, etc., and that it is applicable to them all. All these concerns, analyses or applications, whichever way you prefer to call them, reveal the importance and utility of Ware and Linkugel's theory to the understanding of image restoration discourse by the humankind.

3.3.4 Kenneth Burke's theory of Purification

According to Burke's (1982) theory of dramatisation, guilt is a primary motive which is characterized by two key moments of the drama, the negative and the hierarchy primarily because they are the principal guilt-producing factors' (Ruecket 1982, p.131). This means that the idea of 'negative' permits human beings to create commandments against undesirable behaviour that establishes a hierarchy. This further implies the fact that humans strive for perfection and to live within the hierarchy or rather hierarchies of society. The imperfection within humans causes them to break the commandments, as Burke (1970) puts it:

“Here are the steps
In Iron Law of History
That welds Order and Sacrifice:
Order leads to Guilt
(for who can keep commandments)
Guilt needs Redemption
(for who would not be cleansed)
Redemption needs a Redeemer
(which is to say, a Victim)

Order
Through Guilt
To Victimage
(hence: Cult of the Kill)

Burke (1982) uses the term “guilt” to represent an undesirable state of affairs, an unpleasant feeling which occurs when expectations concerning a particular behaviour, are violated as is usually the case. Thus, attacks on our reputation alleging that our behaviour has been less than perfect has violated important imperatives or commandments that would motivate rhetors to attempt to remove or reduce guilt.

According to Burke, there are two fundamental processes for expunging guilt, or restoring one's good reputation and they are:

- (i) Victimage which is actually scapegoating or shifting the blame, and
- (ii) Mortification which is an admission of wrong-doing and request for forgiveness

Victimage involves a vessel (object) other than the one accused. If this process is successful, guilt is shifted from the rhetor to the victim and the rhetor's reputation is then cleansed.

Mortification on the other hand involves a sacrifice of self and an acceptance of wrongdoing. A heartfelt confession and request for forgiveness may purge guilt and restore one's image. In contrary to this, Burke explains that most people are naturally inclined to use victimage.

Like Ware and Linkugel's theory, Burke's theory has also been criticised and extended, and all researches conducted demonstrate the pertinence and utility of this approach to understanding the reduction of guilt through discourse.

3.3.5 Ryan's theory of *Kategoria-apologia*

Ryan (1982) argues that one must carefully consider the defense (*apologia*) in light of the specific attack (*kategoria*). He says:

'By checking each speech against the other, the critic is better able to distinguish the vital issues from the spurious ones, to evaluate the relative merits of both speakers' arguments, and to make an assesment of the relative failure or success of both speakers in terms of the final outcome of the speech act. Hence the critic cannot have a complete understanding of accusation or apology without treating them both' (p.254).

Ryan further expands this theory to include attacks on policy as well as character. He also sees a relationship between Ware and Linkungel's theory and his approach:

'The apologist for policy absolves himself of the fact (I did not do it), he explains the definition (I did not do what is alleged), he justifies the quality (I had laudable intentions), and he vindicates the jurisdiction (I appeal to a different audience or judge)' (p.257).

Amongst the works that Ryan edited based on this approach, there are applications that concern political figures and other figures including various corporations.

In relation to political discourses, objects in question when put under attack are most likely to attempt shifting the blame for the act to situational features and to the trauma they suffered in the process or rather during the act.

Sometimes the rhetor offers an explanation that counterattacks his or her opponents and by also using transcendence to move the issue away from himself or herself as a victim of attacks by his or her opponents on the issue of free speech or constitutional rights. This is the same strategy that the Public Protector Mushwana used after being insulted and attacked with words for his failure to gather information and face real facts on the Zuma case on 'Arms Deal' (by the Public Prosecutor Bulelani Ngcuka and Penuell Maduna), Mushwana highlighted the Act in the Constitution that a public attack on the Public Protector was against the Constitution and calls for justice. Whether Mushwana's effectiveness as a Public Protector was curtailed or not is a debatable issue.

At other times, an object's decision to do something might provoke a storm of controversy amongst the public. For example, the South African government's decision to provide asylum to Bertrand Aristide of Haiti, caused a lot of controversy within the South African community particularly the opposition parties such as the Democratic Alliance, with accusations that President Thabo Mbeki's act is some kind of homage to the oppressor. However, President Mbeki argued that the decision to provide asylum to Aristide should be seen/ taken as an attempt in achieving peace and stability in Haiti and Africa as a whole hence 'The African Renaissance'.

In other cases, the accused use denial, emphasize investigations, stress good intentions and attempt to refocus the public's attention away fromself. Deputy President Jacob Zuma used the same strategy during his corruption case and allegations of his involvement on the "Arms Deal". He maintained that he was innocent and encouraged investigations on the allegations to an extent that he also conducted his own investigations, hence there were letters about him and the case written in French which he brought to the attention of the public and at the same time, maintaining that all these accusations had nothing to do with the "Arms Deal", but just a personal vendetta campaign (against him) to unpopularize him as a person and as the country's Deputy President. After he has been vindicated by the Public Protector, he regained his popularity and support from the majority of the South African community.

The accused can also use the theory of apologia by offering to answer all the questions based on the charge and by so doing, giving the impression that she or he has nothing to hide.

When most of these applications fail to work, they tend to either backfire at rhetors, or be sabotaged by the accusers. Looking at the tug-of-war of words between the Public Protector Mushwana vs. the Public Prosecutor Bulelani Ngcuka and the former Justice Minister Penuell Maduna which has proved to be very controversial as far as the corruption allegations on the “Arms Deal” with the country’s deputy president Jacob Zuma is concerned, is just the perfect example. Following the Public Prosecutor’s decision not to prosecute Zuma in court with conclusions that his was a *prema facie* case, the Public Protector charged the Public Protector for violating Zuma’s constitutional rights and for being unethical and unprofessional. After Ngcuka denied charges, Mushwana discredited Ngcuka and Maduna by pointing out that they had refused to be interviewed and to cooperate, as if they had something to hide. Mushwana was also insulted and called “dumb”.

There are also effective apologia cases as reported by Burke (1988) in his examination of Martin Luther King Jr.’s “Letters from a Birmingham Jail”, using Ware and Linkungel’s approach. According to Burke, King adopted the posture of explanation using: denial arguing that he was not an outsider, he had legal and moral right to be there; bolstering through identification; and transcendence by pointing out that segregationists are correct that laws should not be broken but these laws are unjust. King also counter-attacked by arguing that Birmingham’s laws were unjust in that:

- (i) Only some (Blacks) were required to obey the laws,
- (ii) The people denied the right to vote by the law couldn’t vote on the laws,
- (iii) Segregation laws denied the constitutional right of peaceful assembly.

The rhetors could also attempt to portray themselves as victims while attacking the other person. So in this strategy, the other adopts the role of defender while portraying the other as an aggressor, as it is the case with Mushwana vs. Ngcuka and Maduna, (Sunday Times 30 May 2004).

According to all these applications, it is apparent that to be able to examine the defence, one should be enlightened of the attack hence *kategoria-apologia*.

3.3.6 Other Image Restoration Criticism

This is mainly the discussion of rhetoric studies which basically does not fall neatly with image restoration criticism but they does have points of intersection with image restoration works that have already been discussed. Below are the examples of this work:

In the Confederate veteran's rhetorics analyzed by Dorgan (1972), he reported four recurrent themes that:

- (i) The Confederate's cause was a glorious war;
- (ii) Defeat is not a negative moral judgement;
- (iii) The defeat reflects divine will; and that
- (iv) The defeat served a greater, long-term, and good.

In his analysis of Nixon's discourse of the Watergate case, Benoit's (1982) identified a number of strategies that emerged as Nixon's defence developed:

- (i) Emphasize investigation
- (ii) Shift the blame;
- (iii) Refocus attention;
- (iv) Indict the main accuser;
- (v) Emphasize confidentiality;
- (vi) Emphasize the mandate;
- (vii) Emphasize cooperation;
- (viii) Use executive privilege; and
- (ix) Quote from the transcripts.

According to Benoit, Nixon's defence was ineffective to a certain extent because he shifted the blame to his own handpicked subordinates which basically meant that he was still ultimately responsible for Watergate.

Hahn and Gustainis' (1987) recurrent arguments in defensive presidential rhetoric are grouped around three myths which are:

- (i) All problems are caused by out-groups;
- (ii) Our leaders are benevolent heroes who will lead us out of danger; and
- (iii) The function of the citizen is to sacrifice and work hard to do the bidding of the leader, (p.44)

According to Benson (1988) the company Johnson & Johnson after the second Tylenol poisoning episode, successfully used flexibility in the form of tentative language, strategic ambiguity, trial balloons, portraying actions positively, and pro-action in the form of communicating frequently by using visible spokespersons and portraying motives in their defensive strategies.

Benoit, Gullifor & Panici's (1991) analysis of Reagan's rhetoric on the Iran-contra affair, his defence had instances of denial, evasion of responsibility, minimization, mortification and plans to correct the problem. According to these three analysts, Reagan's stance of shifting from denial to mortification was not successful. Defensive discourses that employed mortification, corrective action and bolstering proved to be appropriate and successful in repairing the damaged image. This is the same strategy used by AT & T as analysed by Benoit and Benson (1994).

3.3.7 Conclusion

Theories of image restoration are useful and insightful and they provide a solid foundation for understanding image restoration discourse.

Investigations of speeches of self-defence mostly share four common assumptions concerning image restoration discourse:

The first assumption is that one's reputation is important and that is the reason why there are many rhetors working towards restoring it when it is under attack.

Second assumption is that verbal means of redress exist when attacks occur.

Thirdly, it is assumed that attacks are sufficiently pervasive and as such they require a theory of verbal self-defence.

Lastly, literature on apologia seems to assume that a relatively limited number of defensive options are available to apologists.

There are three typologies that dominate the rhetorical literature on image restoration, and they are:

- (i) Rosenfield's short, intense clash; facts lumped in the middle third; recycled arguments; and attack accusers.
- (ii) Ware and Linkugel's denial, bolstering, differentiation and transcendence, and

(iii) Burke's victimage and mortification

This chapter provides basis for two claims about the rhetorical study of image restoration discourse. To start with, this work is largely independent, independence which is demonstrated in the three typologies as discussed above, in which there is no overlap between lists of image restoration options.

Secondly, the theories guiding image restoration discourse are more descriptive than prescriptive. What this means is that even though strategies or theories on image restoration are there, specified that is, they do not offer advice on how to use these alternatives or even suggest options or choices available to the rhetor. But, as far as Burke's theories are concerned, the question of the relative effectiveness of the image restoration strategies is not addressed.

Although exploratory work is often descriptive in nature, it would be much better if it could focus more on offering suggestions concerning when to use a certain image restoration strategy.

What can't be disputed about this work is that the appearance of sincerity and a positive image (credibility), adequate support (evidence), and consistency are- generally the most important factors in rhetorical discourse.

3.4 Accounts and Image Restoration

In this section, theories of image restoration that deal with accounts are being addressed. This section also discusses early work that established the key assumptions, typologies of accounts, account phases, reproaches and accounts, usage of accounts, honouring (accepting) accounts, and accounts as a form of speech act. The lists of image restoration strategies are much more detailed in this section than in previous one but with little application to public cases of image restoration.

3.4.1 The Early Assumptions to Accounts and Image Restoration

According to Heider (1944), one's image or reputation is influenced by the quality of acts for which one is held responsible: "an act of low value, when attributed to the ego, will lower the ego level, and an act of high value will raise it" (p.368). Heider argues that this

provides a motivation for image management: "the tendency to raise the ego level will structure the casual limits in such a way that only good acts and not bad ones are attributed to the own person" (p.369). Claparede (1927) as quoted by Heider, distinguished between two options for dealing with problematic events: 'excuse' which is actually about denying responsibility for the undesirable act, and 'imputation' which is blaming others for the negative act.

Dewey's early work (1922, 1939) discussed 'motive' which is an utterance that arose after an event to explain or account for it. According to Mills (1940), "when an agent vocalizes or imputes motives, she or he is not trying to describe his or her experienced social action. He is not merely stating 'reason' but she or he is influencing others and himself or herself. She or he is often finding new reasons which will mediate action" (p.909). Therefore, motives were treated not as internal states that induce or guide behaviour but as utterances that explain or justify behaviour after its occurrence.

Austin's focus was on 'excuses' and he argued that excuses arise "where someone is said to have done something which is bad, wrong, inept, unwelcome, or untoward. This person or someone else on his or her behalf will therefore try to defend his or her conduct or get him or her out of it'. According to Austin, we have only two options, either 'accept responsibility but deny that it was bad' or 'admit that it was bad but don't accept full or any responsibility for it' (p.124). These options are now called or known as excuses and justifications.

Accounts in discourse are an attempt to explain or justify our behaviour against the unfavorable perceptions of others. The utterances made come in two basic accounting forms (strategies) which are called excuses, justifications or rationalizations that is denial of responsibility for the unpleasant act and\ or the reduction of the negative perceptions associated with the act.

3.4.2 The Typologies of the Accounts

Sykes and Matza, Scott and Lyman, Goffman, Schonbach, Schlenker, Tedeschi and Reiss, and Semin and Manstead have come up with lists of accounts for dealing with threats to one's reputation. Below is the discussion of each of these lists:

3.4.2.1 Sykes and Matza

Sykes and Matza's (1957) typology of accounts was based on and intended for the understanding of juvenile delinquency. They discussed five different types of 'techniques of neutralization' which are:

- (i) Denial of responsibility that includes unintentional or accidental acts.
- (ii) Denial of injury which claims that no actual harm was done, even if the act is considered inappropriate: "It is not such a big tear; it can be repaired even by an amateur tailor".
- (iii) Denial of victim which can suggest that the injured party 'deserved' it or that the victim is unknown. The harm done to the innocent may be viewed as worse than harm done to the guilty.
- (iv) Condemnation of the attackers which tends to change 'the subject of the conversation' (p.668) that is a counterattack may shift away the attention from the charges against the victim to his or her allegations against them (attackers).
- (v) An appeal to the higher loyalties justifies an action based on a different reference group such as not being promoted for the good of the company.

Sykes and Matza's approach may precede and legitimise delinquent behaviour or pre-empt possible objections and this is, according to Benoit, what has made this work to be unusual. The reason is that most conceptualisations of accounts see them as utterances that occur after rather than before the offensive behaviour.

3.4.2.2 Scott and Lyman

Scott and Lyman's (1968) analysis of accounts is the most influential to the study of image restoration and they argue that an account is "a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behaviour" (p.46). Their explanation of the general types of accounts is: "Excuses are accounts in which one admits that the act in question is bad, wrong or inappropriate but denies full responsibility" and on the other hand, "Justifications are accounts in which one accepts responsibility for the act in question but denies the pejorative quality associated with it" (p.47). Scott and Lyman have decided to subdivide each of these general types of accounts as follows:

Firstly, they identified four types of excuses:

- (i) Accidents provide excuses when we explain that unanticipated factors influenced our behaviour. An example of an excuse based on accidents is more the same such as 'blaming your lateness for invigilation on the heavy rain or heavy traffic'.
- (ii) An excuse takes the form of defeasibility when one lacks the knowledge required to successfully complete the action ("I didn't know that the car didn't have enough fuel".) or the lack of will caused either by intoxication or mental illness. This form of excuse is equal to Sykes and Matza's technique of denial of responsibility.
- (iii) Biological drives may also serve as excuses.
- (iv) The final type of excuse is scapegoating which alleges that one's undesirable behaviour was a response to the behaviour or attitudes of another. For example: "I didn't mean to hurt her, but she just couldn't stop bickering". This form may then also be labeled or regarded as "provocation".

Secondly, Scott and Lyman proposed four types of justifications, which are:

- (i) Denial of injury
- (ii) Denial of victim
- (iii) Condemning the condemners, and
- (iv) Appeal to loyalty.

Scott and Lyman extended these types by adding 'sad tales' which is to do with explaining or justifying current misbehaviour on the basis of past difficulties and 'self-fulfilment', which is explaining or justifying a misbehaviour as it is important to personal satisfaction.

3.4.2.3 Goffman

Goffman's (1971) work is on and about remedial moves in conversation. He identified five possible accounts or options that can be used as responses to a face-threatening event:

- (i) Firstly, the offender may issue a 'traverse' or 'rejoinder' that involves denying that the offensive act has actually occurred or that the offender has committed it.
- (ii) Secondly, it is possible to admit that the act occurred and that the actor was responsible but redefine it as not offensive. This is similar to Scott and Lyman's strategy of justification.
- (iii) Thirdly, the offender admits that the act occurred and that the actor was responsible for it but argues that the negative consequences were not reasonably

foreseeable. What this implies is that while the accused failed to see the consequences, no one could have been expected to foresee the outcome.

- (iv) The fourth option is that the offender may admit that the act occurred but claim reduced competence. This is similar to Scott and Lyman's notion of excuses.
- (v) The fifth and the final option is that one may admit carelessness in performing the act or ignorance of the undesirable consequences of the act.

According to Goffman, an apology is another way of handling a problematic situation. He argues that an apology consists of a symbolic splitting of the self into two parts: the bad self who committed the undesirable act, and the good self who deplores that act. He suggests that an apology has five elements which are: (a) an expression of regret, (b) acknowledgement of expected behaviour and sympathy for the reproach, (c) repudiation of the behaviour and the 'self' committing it, (d) promise to behave correctly in the future, and (e) the atonement and compensation.

Goffman (1971) further argues that accounts and apologies appear after the wrongful behaviour but he also acknowledges the fact that it is possible for either to precede the other. However, requests are found before or at the beginning of the event. An utterance of this kind "consists of asking a license of a potentially offended person to engage in what could be considered as a violation of his rights" (p:114). Requests function to reduce the ill feeling that might be generated by untoward behaviour. For example, instead of demanding to retrieve a document from the hard-drive whilst the other user is busy with the computer, you could say: "Excuse me, there is a document that I would like to retrieve from the hard-drive, would you mind if I ask you to minimize your document just for a moment so I can retrieve mine. I promise I won't be long."

3.4.2.4 Schonbach

Schonbach (1980) presented a new taxonomy based on Scott and Lyman's, and Sykes and Matza's taxonomies, and on accounts elicited from subjects who were asked to imagine themselves in a failure event. He added two major categories on Scott and Lyman's excuses and justifications which he called concessions and refusals. Concessions include full or partial admission of guilt, expressions of regret, and offers of compensation which is equal to Goffman's concept of apology. Refusals on the other hand deny that the failure event occurred, suggest that others are responsible or suggest that

the accuser has no right to attack. Schonbach further listed two variants of 'role of victim', which are the justification of the damage with qualities of victim and justification of the damage with acts of victim. These also have own sub-categories which are: illness, addiction, and drunkenness.

The unfortunate thing about Schonbach's theory is that it is not clear what is meant by the refusal form as compared to other sources of information and he did not discuss the reasons underlying some of his distinctions such as why it is important or useful to have separate categories for past restitution or compensation and offers of future restitution or compensation.

As if his addition of concessions and refusals was not enough, Schonbach extended his work on accounts with other concessions, excuses, justifications and refusals which go as follows:

1. Concessions

- (i) Explicit acknowledgement of guilt
- (ii) Explicit absention from excuse or justification
- (iii) Express regret concerning own responsibility, and consequences of failure event to victims
- (iv) Peripheral- acknowledgement of negative aspects of the failure event, acknowledge other's right or reason to question or reproach
- (v) Admission of responsibility, guilt, mistake, shame and embarrassment
- (vi) Formal offer of apology or request for pardon, announcement of restitutions and/or compensation

2. Excuses

- (i) For own human shortcomings as in insufficient knowledge or skill
- (ii) Reason for one to own shortcomings due to biological factors such as illness, addiction, drunkenness, duress, provocation by others, etc.
- (iii) Participation of other persons in failure event, such as provocation
- (iv) Participation of accuser in failure event, such as provocation
- (v) Pleas for mitigation in judgement based on claims of impairment of capacity such as fatigue, mental state, etc.

- (vi) Claims of impairment due to powerful agents such as restriction of information or threatened punishment
- (vii) Plea for mitigation in judgement based on arguments other than impairment claims
- (viii) Appeal to participation of other co-actors (accuser, victim etc.) in the failure event as frames of reference for mild judgements
- (ix) Appeal to limitations, negative traits or misdeeds of other persons (accuser, victim others) as frame of reference for mild judgements
- (x) Plea for mitigation in judgement on the basis of assertions about actor's past and present self, underprivileged past, conviction of the legitimacy of the failure event, good intentions or lack of bad intentions, etc.
- (xi) Plea for mitigation in judgement on the basis of assertions about characteristics of the failure event as in the positive consequences or side effects of the failure event
- (xii) Expressions of hope and concern such as expressing hope for understanding, pardon, mercy, continuation of good relationship with victim, and expressing concern for victim regarding damage from the failure event

3. Justifications

- (i) Denial of damage
- (ii) Minimization of damage in view of circumstances that demanded the event such as time pressure
- (iii) Role of victim- justification of damage with qualities and acts of victim as in provocation
- (iv) Right of self-fulfilment in light of own negative past, good record in the past, present identity, role or status
- (v) Loyalties to specific persons, to norms, values, and/or standards
- (vi) Positive intentions
- (vii) Shortcomings or misdeeds of other persons and/or accuser
- (viii) Claims of partial or full legitimacy in view of provocations by various agents such as an accuser, victim, others, etc.

4. Refusals

- (i) Refutation of allegation of a failure event or of actor's involvement in such an event, claiming failure event did not occur

- (ii) Explicit refusal of confession of guilt
- (iii) Unrestricted attribution of responsibility for the failure event to others, application of guilt to other persons (e.g. an accuser, victim)
- (iv) Denial of opponent's right of reproach or reason to question on the basis of identity or role of relation to accuser, or on the basis of negative qualities or deeds of the accuser
- (v) Denial of the right to question or reproach in view of characteristics of the failure event such as loyalties to higher norms, values, and standards, or because of pressure from powerful agents, or in the light of unforeseeability or unpreventability of the failure event due to situational constraints
- (vi) Evasions or mystifications by means of referral (of accuser) to other sources of information
- (vii) Denial of the right to question or reproach based on self-relevant comments such as negative past, or good record in the past, or right to self-fulfilment
- (viii) Refutation of the right to question or reproach on the basis of assertions about characteristics of the failure event, as in good intentions, conviction of legitimacy of failure event, and effort and care in connection with failure event

3.4.2.5 Schlenker

Schlenker (1980) defined predicaments as "situations in which events have undesirable implications for the identity-relevant images actors have claimed or have a desire to claim in front of real or imagined audiences" (p.137). He acknowledges the fact that actors may attempt to avoid, conceal or retreat from predicaments, but he also suggests that it is good to try to rectify or explain the predicaments.

In rectifying these predicaments, Schlenker identified three forms of accounts or "explanations of a predicament-creating event designed to minimize the apparent severity of the predicament" (p.137).

These forms of remedial move are: defenses of innocence which attempts to demonstrate that the actor had nothing to do with the supposed untoward event that is, either the event never happened or if at all it did happen, the actor was not responsible for it. The second form is excuses that attempt to minimize responsibility for the event and is done by claiming that the consequences were not or could not have been foreseen, or by claiming

extenuating circumstances. The latter claim has two variants: scapegoating which is claiming that others provoked the event, and diffusion of responsibility or suggesting that one or others were involved and by so doing reducing the responsibility attributable to any individual.

Justifications is the third and last remedial form which tries to mitigate the objectionable nature of the event in such a way that the actor may try to minimize the unpleasantness of the event by comparison with others who are not punished probably for having done worse things, and by justification through higher goals.

3.4.2.6 Tedeschi and Reiss

Tedeschi and Reiss (1981) offered another revision of Scott and Lyman's conception of accounts by focussing on excuses and justifications. They added excuses such as,

- (i) 'Distraction by other events',
- (ii) 'Lack of time for deliberation (crisis)',
- (iii) 'Drugs',
- (iv) 'Coercion by others',
- (v) 'Hypnotisation', and
- (vi) 'Brainwashing'

to some of Scott and Lyman's excuses which are: 'not fully informed', 'misinformation', 'intoxication', 'lack of intent', and 'failure to foresee the consequences'.

According to Tedeschi and Reiss, justifications are responses to predicaments. They have also made some additions to Scott and Lyman's justifications excluding from their list but one of Scott and Lyman's justifications "sad tales", and they go as follows:

- (i) Appeal to higher authority such as God, Satan, government officials, stipulated organisational rules,
- (ii) Appeal to ideology as in nationalism and\ or patriotism, for the revolution, to protect society or mankind, to promote religion or sect, and against oppression
- (iii) Appeal to norms of self-defense
- (iv) Appeal to loyalties such as to a friend, gang or group, peer group, sex, race, etc, or to a long-standing understanding or relationship
- (v) Appeal to humanistic values such as love, peace, truth and beauty

- (vi) Appeal to norms of justice through the derogation of victim, law and order, equity and equality- and social welfare norms
- (vii) Self-fulfilment such as personal growth, exerting individuality, conscience or ego-ideal, psychological health, etc.
- (viii) Effects being misrepresented by claiming that no harm was done or that there is no victim or that benefits outweigh harms
- (ix) Social comparisons by condemning the condemners or scapegoating

They argue that reputation is more like building attempts used to restore the tarnished reputation by arguing that it was done to enhance one's reputation.

3.4.2.7 Semin and Manstead

Semin and Manstead (1983) reviewed all the previous conceptions of accounts except for Schonbach's concessions and refusals. Theirs (Semin and Manstead) is the development of detailed and extensive lists of image restoration strategies and according to Benoit, their work is the most complete discussion of accounts. The approach that they have used is to tackle excuses and justifications as discussed\ elaborated by Sykes & Matza, Scott & Lyman, Tedeschi & Reiss, and Semin & Manstead:

1. Excuses

- (i) Denial of intent
- (ii) Unforeseen consequences due to lack of knowledge, skill, effort, motivation, ability, etc
- (iii) Denial of volition due to fatigue, illness, paralysis, blindness, etc
- (iv) Psychological causes originating from self as in insanity or overpowering emotion; or from others such as coercion, hypnotism, etc
- (v) Denial of agency such as the mistaken identity, amnesia, joint production, etc
- (vi) Appeal to mitigating circumstances- that one was provoked (scapegoating), or sad tales.

2. Justifications

- (i) Claim that effect has been misrepresented by denying or minimizing the injury
- (ii) Appeal to principle of retribution by claiming that victim deserved injury of own actions and qualities

- (iii) Social comparison such as those in which others do worse things and go unpunished
- (iv) Appeal to higher authority as in stipulated institutional rules, powerful persons, higher status persons, etc
- (v) Self-fulfilment in order for self-maintenance, self-development, or conscience
- (vi) Appeal to principle of utilitarianism in the form of law and order, or claim that it was in self-defense and that the benefits outweigh the harms
- (vii) Appeal to political, moral, social and religious values
- (viii) Appeal toned for face-work such as in face maintenance, and reputation building.

3.4.3 Account phases

Goffman (1967) suggested that accounts pass through four moves which are: challenge, offering, acceptance and thanks. According to Schonbach (1980), account episodes pass through four phases which are: the failure event, a reproach, the account and an evaluation of the account. Cody and McLaughlin (1985) on the other hand argue that accounting episodes consist of at least three basic phases which are: request for repair, remedy and acknowledgement. Buttny (1987) also suggested three accounting sequences which are: problematic event, account and evaluation. Buttny argued that accounts do not necessarily reply to reproach, and/or the victim may not know of the offending act when the actor offers an account.

Most authors on the literature on accounts agree that a person commits or is believed to have committed the act that appears undesirable to another person/s which results in a reproach or request for a repair, even though they might not agree on whether it is the problematic event or a reproach concerning that event which constitutes the initial part of an accounting sequence. It is therefore either the act or a reproach about the act that provokes a response which is the actor's account. This account is then evaluated by the person/s to whom it is issued and then the offending actor may offer thanks for acceptance of the account.

3.4.4 Reproaches and Accounts

On reports on their studies, Schonbach and Kleibaumhuter (1990) discovered that either form of a reproach derogating the self-esteem or a reproach derogating the sense of control, elicited fewer concessions and more justifications and refusals than the neutral question.

According to McLaughlin, Cody & O'Hair (1990), mitigating reproaches tend to elicit mitigating accounts while aggravating reproaches are more likely to elicit aggravating accounts. On the other hand, McLaughlin, Cody and Rosenstein (1983) have discovered that the use of concessions, excuses, and justifications were not associated with particular reproaches, and that refusal to account was likely when the other used rebuke, request for account and superiority. What this means is that the use of reproaches may elicit fewer conciliatory responses.

3.4.5 Usage of Accounts

This part deals with the general treatments of account production, discussion of severity of offense and the extent of blame on account production, and then the research on when people use false accounts.

Research done on accounts in response to face-threatening predicaments has discovered that in a contrived accident, actors are likely to produce more mitigating responses such as concessions and excuses, than aggravating responses as it is the case with the use of justifications and refusals. According to Gonzales, Manning and Haugen (1992), concessions are responses that are produced more often followed by excuses, justifications and refusals.

Garrett, Bradford, Meyers and Becker (1989) on the other hand, argue that justifications are produced more often followed closely by denial, excuse and then concessions, and they claim that this is the format that is most apparent in cases of companies that have been boycotted.

According to McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983), excuses were the most frequent form of account followed by concessions, justifications, refusals and silence which they argue

that it is also the general type of account. It is also believed that concessions and excuses are the most frequently produced responses to predicaments than justifications and refusals, the latter of which is very much unlikely.

Findings on the severity of the offense or the effects of the embarrassment are that self-reported embarrassment correlates positively with coded face-work (Modigliani 1971), whereas Metts and Cupach (1989) report that avoidance as in pretending not to be bothered by the predicament was most apparent amongst the actors than aggression, remediation, humour, escape, apology and justification. They also discovered that avoidance and humour that is producing face-saving utterances or making light of the situation were frequently used strategies of dealing with embarrassment than aggression and apology.

Actors/ rhetors are most likely to offer more complex and fewer perfunctory apologies as the severity of the offense increased (Schlenker and Darby 1981). What this means is that the severity of the offense and apparent responsibility of the actor influence account production even though the type of reproach does not seem to have an impact. This fact is also supported by McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983) in their findings that concessions were more likely to occur when the apologist felt guilty; refusals and silence were more likely when the actor felt little or no guilt.

Research has also discovered that people sometimes breach an expectation by using false accounts. For example, most actors' accounts are transportation, school/ work, sickness, other commitments, negligence, preference and miscellaneous. According to Weiner, Armikhan, Folkes and Verette (1987), the most frequent reasons that prompt actors to lie are mostly based on preference and negligence.

Based on what has been reported by these researchers, it is clear that people prefer to provide excuses and concessions than justifications, refusals and silence for their predicaments or alleged misdeeds.

Secondly, the researches on embarrassment reports that people prefer to pretend the predicament did not happen/ occur, or rather that it did not happen.

The third point is that the severity of harm and apparent responsibility for that harm do influence production of accounts.

Lastly, when actors' preference and negligence is responsible for the predicament, they are most likely to offer false excuses than when other factors are responsible for the failure event.

3.4.6 Honouring Accounts

This part deals with the question of acceptance and honouring of accounts and it also focuses on the effectiveness of accounts, the effects of account form on its acceptability, the role of apparent severity of offense and the perceived responsibility of the actor on effectiveness of accounts, and an alternative to accounts.

According to Scott and Lyman (1968), an account will not be honoured if it is considered to be either illegitimate or unreasonable. An account becomes illegitimate when the undesirable behaviour is more significant than the account or when the account concerns a motive not acceptable to the audience. If an account does not reflect ordinary social knowledge of reasonable behaviour and expectations, it is then considered as unreasonable.

It is also important that the account must outweigh the offense to an extent that participants sometimes predict that their accounts would be less likely to be accepted when their act were severe than when they are mild as much as when the violation was minor than serious. This is one component of the legitimacy of accounts as observed by researchers.

The second aspect is in regard with the acceptability of the offense or rather the motive. According to Morris and Coursey (1989), accounts' acceptability has three variables which are: the rhetor's reputation, the account's plausibility, and the evidence that confirms or contradicts the account. Believing whether the account is the reason for the act is not related to attributions of responsibility and perceptions of the act but this is a debatable issue.

Thirdly, when an account is inconsistent with ordinary social knowledge it could be unacceptable by the audience hence normativeness.

As far as the honouring of the form of accounts is concerned, research has discovered that use of excuses and denials to be the most effective, to an extent that the use of denials was evaluated to be decreasing the perceived wrongness of the act, so are excuses whereas justifications proved to be the most wrongful. Denials produce positive evaluations of the rhetor than excuses and justifications. Also McClearey discovered that denials were better at improving image and in decreasing blameworthiness than bolstering. Rhetors who offer justifications on the other hand, are believed to be likely to repeat the act unlike those who offer excuses.

In other cases whereby rhetors are facing charges on fraud, those who use denial with supporting evidence are likely to be penalized and less likely to have been held responsible or to have intentionally broken the law, whereas denial without evidence and questioning the law and justice officers is ineffective.

Other findings are that excuses are an effective response to face threat as they are associated with honouring and those using them are seen to be more remorseful (Shields 1979). According to Gonzales (1992), excuses create more positive impression of the offender.

Sometimes justifications can be a useful strategy for image restoration and they also create a more favourable impression of the actor than other strategies such as excuses, apologies and concessions (Hale 1987).

Effectiveness of excuses, justifications and denials depends entirely on the situation at hand, they vary in effectiveness and there are no differences in perceived responsibility for each strategy.

An apology can also create a more favourable impression of the rhetor and as such she or he is likely to be viewed as less aggressive, the act less intentional, less likely to repeat the act and less deserving of punishment than when there is no apology at all. In most cases, an account is accepted when the actor has expressed repentance and she or he is thought or believed to be unlikely to commit the offense again, and this is the reason why

rhetors are sometimes ordered to offer full-blown apologies such as making an apology, show remorse, promise not to repeat the offense, request for forgiveness, request to provide compensation, etc.

Other studies focussed attention on the severity of the harm on an account's effectiveness and they reported that the harm of the offense influences the audience's response more effectively than the actor's role in the offense. What this means is that an account is more likely to be honoured when the severity of the offense is less than when it is greater.

According to Blumstein et al. (1974), an account is more likely to be honoured when the actor is not completely responsible for the offense and as such participants believe that their accounts would be accepted when the acts are accidental than when they are intentional or due to negligence, or when the actor has the choice to commit the offense or not to commit the offense.

In this research, Scott and Lyman's predictions on honouring accounts are confirmed that the severity of offense is inversely related to effectiveness and that the normativeness plays a role in the acceptability of excuses. Results on the effects of the plausibility of accounts on honouring are conflicting and they are disparate. According to research, only apology is found to be an effective form of account but this is debatable to a certain extent. Again accounts are more likely to be accepted when the offensive act is less severe and the actor is less responsible for that act. Effectiveness of a particular strategy of accounts varies accordingly. When the situation is ambiguous, the actor may be able to redefine the situation so as to avoid threat to face, but apologies work in both ambiguous and unambiguous situations.

Effectiveness of accounts has been found to vary with severity of the offense and the actor's perceived responsibility. The fact that apologies attend to the needs of the victim and show the actor as concerned and remorseful endorses the conclusion that apologies are an effective form of account.

There are several reasons why there are conflicting results on the effectiveness of the various forms of account, and the findings are that:

- (i) Multiple methods employed by multiple researchers, give differences between actors and observers found in different researches and that it should not be surprising that different results might arise from different designs.
- (ii) Assessment of multiple dependent variables- Some researchers examined the subject's affect for the offender, some investigated the effect of accounts on perceived wrongness of the act and on the actor's apparent responsibility for the act, and others have found that the account form best at reducing the apparent wrongness through justification increased perceived responsibility, and excuses increased wrongness and reduced responsibility.
- (iii) The existence of the wide variance of the operationalizations of the types of accounts- for example, Holgrave's form of justification was denying harm and Hale's was to appeal to higher authorities. Excuses and justifications also have varieties that vary in the extent to which they restore face.
- (iv) Specific instances of account forms vary in effectiveness and this is the reason for conflicting results.
- (v) What appears to an effective account in one situation/ scenario might not seem to be a good choice in another. For example, if the situation declares that an injury has occurred and that the actor is the one committed an offensive act, denial/ refusal is not a good response and is unlikely to restore the actor's reputation instead the actor would appear as a liar and the perpetrator of the offensive act. But if the audience is not certain of the actor's role or responsibility, plausible denials might restore the actor's reputation.

3.4.7 Accounts as Speech Acts

According to Fraser, there are four reasons why a person offers an apology:

- (i) The rhetor believes that an act occurred before an apology
- (ii) The rhetor believes that the act offended the audience
- (iii) The rhetor thinks that s/he is partly or fully responsible for the act
- (iv) The rhetor feels remorse for the act.

The work on accounts as speech acts is not designed to describe available strategic options in repairing a threatened reputation instead it focuses on developing a framework for determining when a particular utterance should be seen as an apology, and developing

assumptions and requirements for the effective and successful performance of a speech act.

3.4.8 Conclusion

As people, we are seen and believed to be concerned with face and/ or image and for that reason we want others to view our behaviour and us favourably. It is of this view that prompts one to offer accounts or explanations to others and also because we don't want others to hold us responsible for what we believe to be an undesirable behaviour.

Usually, people in an attempt of rehabilitating their reputation use excuses which attempt to reduce or totally eliminate the actor's responsibility of the negatively perceived act, or/ and justifications which attempt to convince the audience that the act is not as bad as they believed. Some people go to an extent of pledging innocence.

According to research, there are five stages of a complete account sequence and they are:

- (i) The offense
- (ii) A challenge, reproach, or request for remedy by the victim
- (iii) The account, remedy or offer (compensation)
- (iv) An evaluation of the account, and
- (v) Thanks or acceptance of the account.

When offenders are embarrassed by the offense, they are likely to act on the predicament and sometimes pretend that it was not that serious.

What has also been discovered is that the severity of the harm and the apparent responsibility do influence the production and the acceptability of accounts. It is also suggested that when people's preference or negligence is responsible for the offensive act or failure event or predicament, they are most likely to offer false accounts than when other factors such as transportation, illness or other commitments are responsible for the predicament. Again, when the situation is ambiguous, the offender might be able to redefine the situation to avoid threat to face. In this study, it is apparent that accounts are speech acts.

3.5 A Theory of Image Restoration

3.5.1 Assumptions of this theory

There are two key assumptions concerning this theory, the first one being that communication is best conceptualised as a goal-directed activity, and the second assumption is that maintaining a positive reputation is one of the central goals of communication. These two assumptions are separately discussed below in detail.

3.5.1.1. Communication is a Goal-directed Activity

Aristotle (1967) has this to say about the speaker's goal:

Rhetoric has three distinct ends in view, one for each of its three kinds. The political orator aims at establishing the expediency of the harmfulness of a proposed course of action... Parties in a law-case aim at establishing the justice or injustice of some action... Those who praise or attack a man at proving himself worthy of honor or the reverse (1954, 1358b21-28)

He distinguished three genres, which are based on the speaker's goal. The first one is political rhetoric that concerns proving whether a policy should be adopted, the second one is judicial rhetoric which decides questions of justice or injustice and the last one is epideictic rhetoric which argues that a person is worthy of praise or blame. According to these genres, the goal is the key-defining feature that constitutes a particular genre.

On the other hand Burke (1968) argues that an act can be called an act in the true sense of the word only if it involves a 'purpose' (1968, p. 446). He maintains that rhetoric is purposeful either indirectly or directly.

Fisher (1970) lists four basic motives or rather kinds of rhetorical situations, and they are: (i) affirmation that creates an image; (ii) reaffirmation that revitalizes the image; (iii) purification that reforms an image, and (iv) is subversion that attacks an image. Fisher defines discourse purposes in relationship to images and he also maintains that they are goal-directed activities.

Most researchers argue that rhetoric is a goal-directed, purposeful and intentional activity because they believe that it is the art of persuasion.

This belief is further expanded in the literature on communication theory whereby the art or exercise of speaking is fundamentally seen as an instrumental act (Clark and Clark 1977). These theorists claim that all messages have a content and relational dimensions implying that communication can be motivated by a limited set of intents, purposes, and goals. Clark and Delia (1979) distinguished three types of objectives:

‘...issues or objectives explicitly or implicitly present for overt or tacit negotiation in every communicative transaction: (i) overtly instrumental objectives in which a response is required from one’s listener/s related to a specific obstacle or problem defining the task of the communicative situation, (ii) interpersonal objectives, involving the establishment or maintenance of a relationship with other/s, and (iii) identity objectives in which there is management of the communicative situation to the end of presenting a desired self image for the speaker and maintaining a particular sense of self for other/s (p. 200).

Craig (1986) a rhetorical theorist, claims that ‘a practical discipline of communication in which the concept of goal would be central is difficult to imagine, and the pragmatic language of goal, decision and consequence is in fact the common coin of the discipline of speech communication that has emerged in this century’ (p.257). This idea also endorses the fact that communication and rhetoric are goal-directed activities.

This assumption is qualified by the following facts:

- (i) Communicators may have multiple goals that are not completely compatible to an extent that behaviour that functions to further one goal may well mean that other goals remain partially or completely unmet. At the same time, utterances that are intended to further a certain goal may harm attainment of another. Also, it is well obviously noticeable that in most cases people try to achieve goals that are most important to them or to achieve the best mix of the goals that appear possible at the time of their act.
- (ii) Sometimes an actor’s goals, motives and purposes may be vague (unclear) or ill-informed but she or he will try to behave in ways that help to accomplish those goals. At times the communicator might have a clear conception of a particular goal but that does not necessarily mean that she or he is aware of the most effective way for

achieving that particular goal and in most cases the communicator pursues the desired goal by enacting the behaviour that she or he believes is likely to achieve that goal and has tolerable costs.

- (iii) It is important to acknowledge the fact that some behaviour is not controlled but that it is automatic to an extent that communicators carefully plan their utterances in situations that are important to them, whereas they devote much cognitive effort in producing goal-driven discourse that seems reasonable and necessary to them at other times.
- (iv) It might be difficult at times to identify the communicator's goals even when a person's goals are relatively clear because there might be other goals such as hidden agendas that complicate matters for the audience and the rhetorical critics. Sometimes communicators create problems by trying to deceive or mislead others about their goals. Some of the problems arise because communicators try to devise utterances that they believe will best achieve the goals that are most salient to them when they communicate. All these problems do not change the fact that communication is an intentional activity.

Another rhetorical theorist Von Wright explains the relationship between goals and action, and his syllogism has proved to be the best way of viewing communication. He says:

A (action) intends to bring about P (purpose).

A considers that she or he cannot bring about P unless she or he does A.

A scheme of this kind is sometimes called a practical inference or syllogism.

According to this notion, it is believed that when people have goals or rather desires, they present the messages that they think will be instrumental in obtaining or achieving their goals. If the situation makes it possible for those goals to be attained in various means, then (i) communicators will choose the utterance that they believe does maximise their chances of success, (ii) or choose an utterance that they believe has the fewest costs, (iii) or they will choose an utterance that they believe will facilitate another goal. In most cases communicators offer more than one utterance/ message when they believe that will help them accomplish their goal/s, and that those messages are capable of accomplishing their desired outcomes.

It is therefore appropriate to conclude by saying that communication is best conceptualised as an instrumental activity and that communicative acts are intended to attain goals important to the communicators who perform them.

3.1.2 Maintaining a Favourable Reputation is a Key to Goal of Communication

All human beings engage in behaviour that makes them vulnerable to attack and this is what prompts the need for image or reputation restoration, because maintaining a favourable impression is an important goal in interaction and is desired by all human beings. Our vulnerability to attack is due to the fact that:

- (i) The world we live in has very limited resources and this makes it difficult and sometimes impossible to satisfy all of our desires, all of us and this causes dissatisfaction which is recurring most of times.
- (ii) Sometimes conditions and events beyond our control do prevent us from meeting our obligations, such as transportation, weather, power failure, etc.
- (iii) Due to our being human, we are bound to make mistakes from time to time, some of them are innocent and others are due to self-interests (preference and negligence).
- (iv) Due to the fact that we are all different, it is normal that our goals would differ too. This causes conflicts over goals amongst communicators and the ends/ outcomes of that create dissension. All these points confirm the fact that wrong-doing/ failure event whether actual or perceived, is a recurring human feature, and that is a fact.

When the actual or perceived wrong-doing has occurred, it leaves the actors feeling that they have projected a negative reputation of themselves and in most cases it is believed that these negative imputations toward the self arise from introspection. Semin and Manstead (1981, 1983) argue that "the threat of potential negative imputations to the self, in the shape of anticipated negative dispositional inferences that an observer may make, increases with the degree of blame and responsibility that can be inferred from the act". What this means is that human beings worry that others will think less of them when apparent predicaments occur and the threat to one's image is determined by the capacity of the failure event, that is if the responsibility of the failure event is great/ huge then that also increases the threat to the image.

The fact that others are quick to judge or criticise actors for their failure events makes actors to feel even more compelled to do whatever they can to try to purify their

threatened images. They make complaints and utterances that provoke accounts or apologies from the actors and this they do either through: (i) expressing surprise or disgust, (ii) suggesting that the person being reproached is morally or intellectually inferior, (iii) requesting an account or (iv) rebuking another person.

A person's vulnerability to criticism leads to both internal and external guilt and also threats to the face which motivate a reaction. According to Goffman, when damage is done or face is threatened, then it is time for face work or image restoration/ purification. The reasons why face, image or reputation is so important are that:

- (i) Face, image or reputation is an extremely important commodity, as Snyder, Higgins and Stucky puts it: " Achieving and maintaining a positive self-image have been postulated as important motivational variables throughout the history of psychology" (1983 p.29). This fact manifests itself through the said undesirable consequences of the failure events, and this is further endorsed by Schlenker (1980 p.131):

"the more severe a predicament is, the greater the negative repercussions for an actor. The actor should experience greater internal distress such as anxiety and guilt, receive greater negative sanctions from audiences, and produce greater damage to his or her identity- thereby adversely affecting relationships with the audience".

- (ii) The role that it plays in the influence process in the form of the actor's ethos or rather prior reputation is very important to the effectiveness of discourse (Isocrates p.278):

"The man who wishes to persuade people will not be negligent as to the matter of character, on the contrary, he will apply himself above all to establish a most honourable name among his fellow-citizens, for who does not know that words carry a greater conviction when spoken by men of good repute than when spoken by men who live under a cloud and that the argument which is made by a man's life is of more weight than that which is furnished by words?"

According to Isocrates, a rhetor's prior reputation is a more important factor in persuasion than arguments and evidence. He argues that:

" probabilities and proofs and all forms of persuasion support only the points in a case to which they are severally applied, whereas an honourable

reputation not only lends greater persuasiveness to the words of the man who possesses it, but adds greater lustre to his deeds, and is, therefore, more zealously to be sought after by men of intelligence than anything else in the world. (p.280)

Aristotle is also supporting this theory that people believe good men more fully and more readily than others even when certainty about the issue at hand is impossible and when there is a division or clash of opinions. This therefore suggests that establishing and maintaining a positive image or reputation is a crucial goal of discourse.

- (iii) When our reputation is threatened, we feel obliged to offer explanations, defenses, justifications, excuses, apologies and rationalizations for our behaviour because blame, criticism and complaints are a fundamental element of the human society's existence, and also because face is crucial for everyone. The fact of the matter is that the phenomenal need to purify one's reputation through discourse occurs in all walks of life and in all our lives whether private or public.

3.5.2. Image Restoration Discourse

There is one goal in discourse that theory of image restoration is focused on and that is restoring or protecting one's reputation, why because it is one of the central goals in communication. Thus, image restoration discourse is basically concerned with the importance of reputation, image or face, its susceptibility to attack and the need for verbal means of redress.

The belief that an image, reputation or face is threatened motivates communicators to take action to rectify or alleviate this concern and the best or suitable strategy in doing that is influenced by the nature of attacks, reproaches or complaints. There are two components of attack on image/ reputation or face and the first one is the realization that an undesirable act has occurred. This is actually the actor's perception of the relevant audience's beliefs, that they disapprove of the event or action (not the audience's actual beliefs) that prompts the actor's defensive discourse. This component also addresses such things as the effect of the action on the audience that is, the more serious the offense and more people harmed, the more vile the audience's response and more widespread the negative effects on the actor's reputation.

Secondly, the actor or rather the rhetor is responsible for the action. Thus, the relevant audience can hold the actor responsible for the failure event but what is important here is whether the relevant audience believes the actor to be the source of the undesirable behaviour and not whether the actor has in actual fact caused the damage. Then, if the actor is believed to have committed the reprehensible act, his or her reputation is likely to be threatened or suffer and it is at this juncture whereby an actor has to take an action in restoring his or her image. According to this information, it is obvious that perceptions are much more important here next to the reprehensible action.

Therefore, if the relevant audience believes that both these components are true, then the actor's reputation is at risk and the actor is likely to employ image restoration discourse if s/he also thinks that the audience believes that these conditions are true.

It is also very important to consider the fact that taking responsibility for the action or undesirable behaviour is not a matter of a simple true or false proposition. For example, if more than one person have jointly committed the reprehensible act, it is highly impossible that they all initiated the act and to hold them all responsible for it. It is in cases like these whereby you would find audiences trying to look or investigate the so-called "ring leaders" or the actual perpetrators of the act and these are the ones who are usually held more responsible for failure event. People who had intentions for the effects or event are held more accountable than those whose effects were unintentional or unexpected.

When actors believe that their reputation is under attack, they use a variety of image restoration strategies in an attempt to restore it. In most cases actors deny that the act occurred or that they are the ones who performed it that is by shifting the blame from the self. If the denial strategy was employed in a successful manner, then the accused's reputation might be restored substantially. However, this does not necessarily mean that the accused's image would be fully restored because in the process of attacks or the image restoration event, attitudes are formed and it will take time to erase them in the audience's minds.

Actors may also attempt to evade or reduce responsibility for the perceived undesirable act especially when it is difficult to deny or denying it proves to be a dangerous move. This the actor could do by: (i) claiming that she or he was provoked and by so doing making him or her not solely responsible, (ii) she or he may offer defense of defeasibility by claiming that the action was due to lack of information or skill which also makes the actor

not to be held entirely responsible, (iii) the actor might declare that the action occurred by accident, (iv) she or he might also claim that she or he performed the act with good intentions. All these strategies are doing a splendid job in mitigating the damage to the actor's reputation from the reprehensible or undesirable act. If all these strategies are performed successfully, they stand a good chance in improving the actor's reputation even though it might not be completely restored.

The perceived offensiveness of the act could also be reduced through other strategies such as bolstering, minimization, differentiation and transcendence, attacking the accusers, and compensation. Bolstering is the strategy that attempts to improve the accused's reputation with the hope of making up for the damage to the image from the reprehensible act, whereas minimization reduces the magnitude of the negative feelings attributed to the act with the hope that the ill feelings directed towards the actor/ rhetor might be lessened. Differentiation and transcendence on the other hand, attempt to reduce the negative affect associated with the act, whilst the strategy of attacking the accusers might reduce the impact of the attack by reducing the credibility of the attacker, especially if the accuser is the victim or rather the injured party. The latter strategy seeks to lessen the perceptions of the severity of the harmful or undesirable act. Compensation is basically designed to reduce the perceived severity of the injury or the act. A successful application of all these strategies could help restore the threatened or the reputation in question.

Taking a corrective action and mortification are also image restoration strategies and they are explicable through cultural norms unlike the other strategies that are explicable through the analysis of the nature of the attack. As it has been highlighted before that all human beings are imperfect, therefore they are bound to make mistakes from time to time, so if one does make a mistake or commit an offense, she or he might be forgiven by the audience if she or he comes forward and offer an assurance that she or he will remedy the problem and promise not to do it ever again (the latter which is very unlikely). With this strategy, the actual offense or crime, doesn't matter much, what counts is the fact the actor has acknowledged his or her mistake (failure event) and is taking initiative to rectify, remedy or correct it. Alternatively, an actor might engage in mortification which is an apparently sincere apology, expression of regret, and/ or a request for forgiveness which could salvage a damaged reputation. Both these initiatives, could fully or partially the least, restore the actor's reputation, image or face.

There is one addition to this list of image restoration strategies and even though it might not restore one's image or reputation, it could the least change the audience's initial perceptions of the actor to a certain extent. Silence is sometimes used by most rhetors when they are under attack instead of employing any of the strategies as listed and discussed above. In most cases, people who employ this strategy feel that "what's the use they have already crucified me and whatever I say they won't believe me. The truth will prevail at the end." This move often causes a shift and sometimes division amongst the audience, whereby you find that the audience will at end opt for a subtler or rather a more gentle and humane way of getting the actor or the accused to account for his or her action/s. When accountability has been offered, perceptions are also most likely to change. This doesn't necessarily mean that this strategy is successful or that it is the best to use, but I have seen it working in some cases. Take Mama Winnie Mandela as a befitting example as she's been under a lot of scrutiny both by the previous apartheid government and the current democratic government for corruption, murder allegations, you name it all. All that pressure, divorce, name-calling, ostricisation in politics, government and the community at large, she never uttered a single word as an attempt in restoring her reputation, all you can see is sadness and sorrow written boldly in her eyes, even when she is smiling. In all these events, she has been proved innocent and acquitted of the charges against her. Most people over the years have looked at her differently, understood her better and gave her the support that she deserves. This has happened without her saying anything in convincing them. Like all the other strategies of image restoration, silence could also rehabilitate the accused's image, but this is debatable in that some people might choose to say nothing because they feel that "so what if I did it? What are you going to do about that?" and this boils down to Isocrates' ethos.

3.5.3 Typology of Image Restoration Strategies

According to this research, image restoration strategies are divided into five categories, which are: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, taking corrective measures/ action, and mortification. Each of these categories is discussed in detail as follows:

3.5.3.1 Denial

Some rhetorical researchers claim that denial is often used by most people when they are under attack or being suspected for an undesirable behaviour, even though their forms of denial differs from situation to situation. For example, Ware and Linkugel (1973) maintains that the actor engages in complete denial of the act and Goffman (1971) argues that the actor deny the fact that the act occurred and sometimes that she or he (the actor) committed or is responsible for it whereas Schonbach (1980) observes that the actor might claim that the act did not occur, Schlenker (1980) suggests that the actor might pledge innocence, Tedeschi and Reiss on the other hand claim that denial could be used as an agency whilst Semin and Manstead (1981) claim that the actor might use mistaken identity as a way of denying responsibility for the act. All of these options are a simple denial of the undesirable behaviour and if the audience accepts either of them then the actor's reputation should and could be rehabilitated.

Sometimes denial could be reinforced by the accused by means of supplementing it with explanations of apparently damaging facts or lack of supporting evidence in the part of the accusers. For example, deputy-president Jacob Zuma alleged that personal interests drove the Public prosecutor, Bulelani Ngcuka as in some kind of a personal vendetta against him quoting the fact that he (Zuma) had to learn about the investigation of his alleged involvement in the "Arms Deal" through the media something which was considered as wrong and unprocedural according to the constitution. Another example is that of the Public Protector Lawrence Mushwana and the Public Prosecutor Bulelani Ngcuka whereby in his (Mushwana) verdict concerning charges against Ngcuka has pointed out that Ngcuka was uncooperative, and has ignored and trampled on Zuma's constitutional rights when he decided that Zuma's case was a *prima facie* case and that they (as Scorpions) were not going to prosecute.

Another form of denial is that of providing an alibi to prove that the accused did not commit the alleged or perceived undesirable act. This option is mostly prevalent in the murder cases and other offenses of criminal nature. The effect of an alibi is to provide evidence that if accepted acquits the accused. Consider for example the case of the American sportsman O. J. Simpson, whose murder case never rest because even though he provided an alibi, it was not convincing enough for the jury to grant him a "not guilty" judgement for murdering his wife.

The accused could also use what is called victimage or shifting blame in an attempt to deny charges against self. This strategy has chances of success than a simple denial in that it provides a target to which the audience can vent their ill feelings when shifting it from the accused. Another reason for the success of this strategy is that it answers the question that crops-up after the accused has denied responsibility for the failure event which is more like "if you didn't do it, then who did?"

3.5.3.2 Evading responsibility

Some people are unable to deny responsibility for the act but this does not necessarily mean that they do take full responsibility for the undesirable act. They either reduce or evade it in a number of ways one of which is scapegoating or provocation whereby the accused claim that the act was performed in response to another wrongful act such as in "self-defense", which has understandably and justifiably provoked the perceived act. If this claim is accepted then the provocateur might be held responsible instead of the accused.

Defeasibility which is pleading lack of information, skill, volition and ability about or control over factors in the situation, could be used by the accused as a form of reducing or evading responsibility for the act. Due to this reason, the accused might end up not being held fully responsible for the undesirable act.

Accidents are also used as a form of reducing or evading responsibility for the failure event and for this reason, it is generally not the norm to hold people responsible for situations beyond their control such as the terrible weather, traffic jam, etc., and reasonably so. This does not mean that the offense has not occurred but instead it just reduces the actor's responsibility for the act.

Sometimes people do not deny the act instead they claim that they had good intentions, best interests or rather motives for behaving the way they did and therefore the audience should not hold them entirely responsible for the action.

3.5.3.3 Reducing Offensiveness

This strategy of reducing the audience's negative feeling has six variants and they are: Bolstering which is used to mitigate the negative effects of the failure event on the accused

by strengthening the audience's positive affect for the actor. This could be done by relating one's positive attributes or positive actions which were performed in the past and this could increase the audience's positive feeling toward the actor which might later help to offset their negative feelings especially if the past positive actions are relevant to the accusations in question.

The second variant is minimization whereby the accused attempts to convince the audience that the act is not as bad as it appears and by so doing she or he is trying to reduce the amount of the negative affect which is associated with the undesirable act. A success of this strategy could help restore the threatened reputation.

Differentiation which is a third variant is basically a comparison that distinguishes the performed act from other similar but less desirable actions. If at all the act is accepted by the audience as less offensive, then the accused's reputation is likely to be cleansed.

The third variant is whereby the accused employs transcendence by placing the act in a different context or in a broader context and in so doing is in a way suggesting a different frame of reference. Sometimes, this strategy could be employed by means of appealing to the higher values or higher loyalties as a way of justifying one's actions.

Fourthly, the accuser might decide to attack his or her accusers as a way of diverting the audience's attention away from self, the actual accusation and also as a form of reducing the damage done to the actor's image, face or reputation.

The last variant is compensation in which the accused offers to remunerate the injured as an attempt to offset the negative feeling arising from the offensive act. In most cases, compensation is seen as a bribe and if proven to be worthwhile or to be of value, then it is accepted by the victims or the injured parties, then the accused's reputation should be restored.

All these variants prove that the accused has indeed committed the offensive act or why else would she or he go such a mile or make such strides if she or he didn't do a thing.

3.5.3.4 Corrective Action

This category could be employed by either attempting to restore the situation to the state of affairs before the perceived failure event or by promising to remedy one's perceived

“evil ways” and make efforts in preventing the recurrence of the alleged/ perceived undesirable act particularly if the event in question has the potential of recurring. Corrective action is therefore aimed at addressing the source of the problem/ failure event or the offensive act and also devises means and ways of mending the previous damage and try to prevent its recurrence at the same time.

3.5.3.5 Mortification

In other cases, the accused might simply admit responsibility for the damage and beg for forgiveness and if his or her apology has been proven to be sincere by the audience, then she or he could/ should be forgiven through the acceptance of his or her apology. Some rhetorical theorists advise that this strategy could be even more successful if it could be used together with concessions and that is to admit guilt, ask for pardon, express regret for the undesirable act and offer plans for correcting or preventing the event from occurring ever again.

These are the basic options that the rhetor could use when attempting to restore the threatened image. It is also important to acknowledge the fact that simply knowing about the availability of these strategies is not enough because what is even more lucrative is knowing how these strategies work, the relationship of the persuasive attack and defense, and how is this theoretical literature related to the previous researches.

According to this literature, a strategy is a goal or an effect sought by the discourse which basically implies the fact that strategies are abstract representations of the relationship between discourse and goals or effects (Bowers, Ochs & Jensen, 1993). It is a fact that rhetors universally, have goals and they all believe that an appropriate discourse (utterance) can and may help them achieve those goals. Therefore, a strategy represents a discursive intersection between rhetor's goals and effects that may occur within an audience.

The effects of the rhetor's utterance may be consummatory which means that they may immediately achieve the rhetor's goals or they could be instrumental meaning that they may be means of achieving a further goal which is more like an ultimate goal. A strategy could have one or both of these effects but their success depends on their effective application. Bolstering for example, is designed to influence the audience to view the

actor in a more favourable and positive manner and if the actor has succeeded in this endeavor of cleansing the self, she or he would have accomplished the consummatory effect whereas shifting the blame is more of an instrumental effect/ strategy. The reason why shifting the blame is viewed as instrumental is that it has both an immediate effect and an ultimate effect. An immediate effect is that the actor intends shifting the blame from the self to another target which will hopefully be held responsible for the undesirable act, but this does not necessarily mean that the actor is entirely off the hook. An ultimate effect is achieved only if the audience has decided to exonerate the actor for the offensive act and lay charges completely on the new target.

Other discourses have both the consummatory and instrumental effects, that are achieving more than one goal such as in cases whereby the accused tries to bolster accusations by claiming to be what's best for others (consummatory) and at the same time denying the charges against self (instrumental). For example, there is a new mining company that has been opened within the borders of the Mpumalanga and Limpopo Provinces, so when health hazards against the residents near the mine were raised, mining managers claimed that precautions were taken through feasibility studies which were conducted prior the opening of the mine and that they are willing to go an extra mile in securing the residents' safety at all costs and that most importantly, 80% of workers in the mine are people from these two Provinces. So, the closure of the mine would mean job losses and poverty for those workers' families.

Attacking accusers is viewed as an instrumental strategy in that if the credibility of the accuser is somehow reduced, then the actor would have achieved the immediate effect and the damage to self could be mitigated through observing the instrumental effect. Sometimes attacking the accuser could function as shifting the blame from the self to the accuser by claiming that she or he (the accuser) provoked the accused and if this claim is accepted by the audience then it would have served the instrumental effect.

The fact that image restoration strategies may or can be operationalized in discourse in a variety of ways makes it difficult to identify them at times, but it is suggested that there are clues that could be used in attempting to identify an utterance as an instance of a strategy, working from the actor's perspective by considering the rhetorical problem facing the actor and also by speculating how an utterance might have been intended by the rhetor to resolve that problem, and finally by taking the audience's perspective (reaction) of a given

utterance in that situation. Thus, knowing the actor's goals, the audience's reactions and the discursive evidence allows one to make a reasonable analysis and classification of the rhetor's utterances according to the strategies of image restoration as discussed above.

3.5.4 Image Restoration and the Audience

This part of image restoration deals with perceptions because at the very beginning of the exercise the rhetor perceives that the relevant audience is holding him or her responsible for the perceived undesirable behaviour or rather act, and she or he attempts to respond to the perceived threats against the negatively perceived reputation or image/ impression or self. These perceptions may or may not directly correspond with the audience's actual perceptions of the actor's reputation. The rhetor's perceptions of the relevant audience's response are enough to prompt and guide image restoration efforts. It is for this reason why it is crucial for critics to consider the rhetor's point of view, his or her perceptions of the audience's beliefs when trying to understand the actor's perceptions of an attack and his or her response to it. Understanding the audience's perception of the rhetor prior and after the image restoration attempt is as much important especially concerning the effectiveness of the rhetor's defensive discourse in image restoration. There are two types of audiences that we have:

- (i) External audience which consists of the people for whom the rhetor is mostly concerned with restoring his or her image and this is what we could call the "relevant audience". This audience may consist of only one person who objects or is offended by the rhetor's behaviour, such as in a mother-daughter relationship whereby the rhetor would be concerned basically with her mother's perceptions and would wish to restore her mother's impression of her. Another form of an external audience is whereby the rhetor would be trying to restore his or her image in front not only of the accuser but also of other people such as bystanders, colleagues, classmates who are aware of the accusations. The final form occurs when the third party levels the accusations before a relevant group and in this case the rhetor is mainly concerned with restoring his or her reputation with those aware of the accusations than with the accuser, and mostly trying to get an audience to reject accusations of a third party. In the process of cleansing self, the rhetor's accuser may or may not be part of the audience for whom the image restoration attempt is designed because sometimes the accuser may or may not be the alleged victim of the offensive act which basically

prompts the accused to be primarily concerned with restoring their reputations their reputations with the affected or with other audiences or both. The fitting example for this particular form is when the Public Prosecutor Bulelani Ngcuka was lashing out at the Public Protector Lawrence Mushwana calling him (Mushwana) “a fool” and that he “pities him”. This was after Mushwana has charged Ngcuka for violating Zuma’s constitutional rights as far as the case on “Arms Deal” was concerned. Ngcuka went to the media to get to the South African community with the hope of cleansing himself in the eyes of the South African people.

- (ii) The rhetor himself/ herself is a second audience and the internal one because in most cases, irrespective of all excuses, accounts, all the discourse strategies, the rhetor might still be left still feeling bad and embarrassed about the act. Thus, account-giving helps with the self-esteem but the id should be dealt with too, in depth.

3.5.5. The Relationship of Attack and Defense

According to Ryan (1982), it is important to understand image restoration events in the context of the specific attacks that are provoking the face repair work. He argues “the critic cannot have a complete understanding of accusation or apology without treating them both” (1982 p.254). He claims that there are two types of accusations: (i) against policy, and (ii) against character, and that there are three forms of fact: (i) definition, (ii) quality, and (iii) jurisdiction. Even though this information is of value, it does not state the relationship between accusation and defense which is equally important because some rhetors may decide to respond or not to respond to some or even to all of the accusations. Ignoring the specifics of the accusations might not be a successful move for the rhetor, but this is not always the case as proven by the following discussion.

It is possible to redefine the attack, that is transforming the original accusation by shifting from character to policy or from an attack on another issue to another and by so doing the accused will not respond to the attacks as they were originally developed. If this is employed successfully, the rhetor will be “beating them at their own game”.

Alternatively, the rhetor may attempt to refocus attention entirely on other issues. This is the same stance that was taken by the Deputy-president Jacob Zuma when he attempted shifting the blame from the “Arms Deal” to a personal matter, arguing that he is prepared to go an extra mile but the Public Prosecutor refuses to continue which proves that all the

allegations against him are just a scam of a personal vendetta against him “why else would Ngcuka refuse to prosecute”. Effectively applied, the rhetor may successfully ignore some or even all the accusations against the self.

There is a possibility that all aspects of the attacks may not be equally important to the audience and in cases such as these, the rhetor would just have to concentrate on those charges that are most salient to the audience and avoid wasting time and irritating the audience with matters that are not important.

Another possibility is that there may be no clear accusation like attacks that arise from the media rather than from the rhetor’s explicit attack/ *kategoria* (Benoit 1988). Situations such as these make it difficult to identify the attack even though it is important.

Furthermore, attacks and defense can be intertwined as in politics where you find constant clash of ideologies and exchange of ‘harsh’ words amongst members of different political groups. Analysts are therefore advised to examine the accusations and responses as they occur in the discourse instead of trying to label a certain discourse as either an attack or a defense.

There could also be what is called pre-emptive *apologia* whereby the rhetor attempts to defuse the anticipated criticism. What happens in this situation is that the defense occurs prior the attack which later complicates the relationship between the attack (*kategoria*) and the defense (*apologia*). The rhetor responds to anticipated attacks and not the actual attacks and if this is done properly and successfully then the attack would not even occur. The relationship between *kategoria* and *apologia* is a very complex one even though considering or rather acknowledging attacks in image restoration discourse is of utmost importance. Thus, understanding the basic nature of a persuasive accusation helps to explain how defensive strategies work. As highlighted earlier, a persuasive accusation consists of an offensive act and the target of the attack must be held accountable for that event. However, if the act is not perceived as offensive then the accused’s reputation should not be damaged and if at all the accused is not responsible for the act, still there should be no damage to his or her image.

3.5.6 The Theory of Image Restoration Discourse and Previous Research

The theory of image restoration discourse has been developed through important contributions of other approaches, theories and researches in the literature. Even though they have been found to have lot of loopholes, they do provide a profound basis for the study on image restoration. We are now going to look at each of those researches in detail.

3.5.6.1. Rosenfield's Theory of Mass Media Apology

Rosenfield's theory is regarded as incomplete to be used as starting point. He offered only four characteristics in his theory of apology. The first one describes the situation- as a short, intense, decisive clash of views; the second and the third ones are about a general concern of the content that facts cluster in the middle and that arguments are reused. The last one, invective options in which the rhetor attacks the opponents could be used as an option in an attempt of image restoration.

3.5.6.2. Burke's Theory of Guilt

According to Burke, there are only two options for reducing guilt, and they are victimage and mortification. He argues that there is what is called a purgative-cycle in which human beings inevitably violate the social order by requiring redemption. Thus, guilt is an important motivation for image restoration. Burke further argues that mortification and victimage both deal with guilt by killing or getting rid of it and sees them as a form of death: mortification as a kind of suicide, and victimage as a kind of homicide. This is debatable in the sense that victimage is shifting the blame or scapegoating whereas mortification is accepting the blame and asking for forgiveness, therefore there is no way that these two could be said to be related, instead victimage could be aligned with denial.

3.5.6.2. Ware and Linkugel's Theory of Apologia

They offer four useful image restoration strategies: denial, bolstering, differentiation and transcendence which they argue that they rarely occur in isolation. The problem with their discussion is that it excludes other image restoration strategies such as mortification, minimization, attacking accusers, offering compensation and shifting blame which are

equally important in the process of image restoration. These two theorists according to this analysis, have failed to acknowledge the fact that their strategies could or would not successfully operate independently to restore one's reputation. For example, the accused may not just deny having committed the perceived undesirable act, but could also shift the blame to someone else, claiming that she or he's been provoked into committing the act; by so doing the accused is not only denying but also scapegoating, which is an image restoration strategy on its own. Sometimes, others may claim that committing the offense was not intentional or that they only meant good.

Another discrepancy with Ware and Linkungel's theory is their use of postures, in that even though they agree to the above argument that more than one strategy may prevail in each discourse/ speech and they maintain that only two predominate, which are transcendence and differentiation. However, they still argue that only one should predominate and not both, and that the postures should be denial and differentiation or denial and transcendence; and either bolstering and differentiation or bolstering and transcendence. According to their study, Ware and Linkage only concentrate on image restoration based on attacks on the character and defenses on character and by so doing ignoring defenses on policy which is an equally important element in image restoration discourse. The reason is that stances taken by policy rhetors help define their public image and besides it has been discovered that there is no way that character and policy could be disentangled.

Moreover, this theory does not address the issue of anticipated attacks and as such, in their discussion Ware and Linkugel do not highlight how their strategies could be preemptively used to respond and reduce the effectiveness of prior attacks.

3.5.6.4. Ryan's Speech Act Analysis (1982)

Ryan's emphasis is on the importance of attacks and the relationship between attacks and the defenses that is both policy defenses and character defenses. This has proved to be the most useful research bearing in mind that it was the first to acknowledge the importance of the relationship between an attack and the defense and that it is the extension of Ware and Linkugel's theory of image restoration of Apologia.

3.5.7 Conclusion

This study of image restoration outlined two key assumptions, that communication is goal-driven and that identity maintenance is a key goal of communication. It has also developed a list of image restoration strategies and an explanation of how these strategies work through the analysis of the attacks or reproaches (kategoria). However, what this study has failed to do was to address and discuss the initial development of a positive reputation and also to develop a typology of attacking strategies next to persuasive attacks. Besides, it is worth noting that this theory of image restoration is developed to help people to better understand human communication and all the forms that are involved in it, and of course the costs that come with it.

CHAPTER 4: A SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE OF INTERPERSONAL ACCOUNTS

4.1.1 The Basic Framework of the Study

This section is basically about the beginnings of the theoretical work in articulating the motivations and conditions for account-making.

Human life is history, history which is passed from one generation to another through communication in a form of story-telling. This could be done voluntarily or other people could be driven to search for meaning in their own and their significant others' personal histories, and the stories told are the ones that are called 'accounts'. According to Harvey, Weber and Orbuch, it is these accounts and the process in which they are developed to become part of human beings' mental being/ life and their behavioural plans and patterns that influenced this study.

George Levinger argued that the reason for the failure of personal relationships mostly emanates from the inarticulateness of the parties involved in addressing issues concerning their relationships.

However, Harvey, Weber and Orbuch argue that whether verbalised to the significant others or not, people are regularly and sometimes incessantly looking for an understanding of the major issues in their lives which may or may not concern them or their significant others. It is therefore this understanding that is at the heart of account-giving.

The first part of this study is therefore aimed at introducing the concepts of accounts and account-making, and giving them definition and characterization in social psychology and the social and behavioural sciences as well. In psychology, this study is seen as the offspring of work on attributional processes. Focus is going to be put on the whys, whens, hows, whos of accounts and the methodology for studying accounts.

4.1.1.1 Definition, Scopes, and Historical notes

It is argued that an account is like a story that contains a rich array of plots, characters and patterns of interaction, and also as a package that contains explanations and descriptive material for events and states of being of self, others and the world at large. According to the Random House Dictionary of 1978, account is a description of events or facts and alternatively an explanatory statement. But, the focus of this study is on an account as a story that may contain justifications and other types of self-relevant material.

It is important to know when an account has started or ended and to define the boundaries of an account. Accounts have boundaries that are defined either by the participants or by the investigator using contextual information. The account-giving process has what is called "dermacation signs" as discussed by Gergen and Gergen (1987), which are more prominent in people's narrative reports. It is of this reason why it is mostly logical to argue that accounts are similar to narratives even though accounts do not involve telling one's story to others as it is the case with narratives. Accounts may remain at the level of private reflections or be written for self or other/s to read hence they have boundaries marked by such dermacations.

John H. Harvey et al. (1990) therefore suggest that there should be no singularly definitive procedure for learning about accounts and emphasize more on the overall story of the account or rather what is contained in the account instead, and develop operational definitions of accounts in accordance with the theoretical perspectives in question.

Knowing when an account has started or ended is not a simple and easy thing to do because the process of composing an account may continue for many years or may be completed in a very short period of time depending on individuality of the people involved and different situations.

The socio-linguists who first introduced this concept of accounts discussed accounts in terms of excuses people make when they are associated with potentially culpable behaviour and not in the broad narrative spheres. However, in the field of social psychology, this work on accounts has developed in close association to the theory and research on attributional processes as stipulated in the works of Heider, 1958 and other scholars. Heider's work offers an insight on how people understand one another and

achieve coherence in their interpersonal relations. His metaphor of a classical “naive psychology” or “commonsense psychology of the person on the street” provides an umbrella for account-making activity. This provides basis for the argument that central to a person’s naive psychology is his or her reservoir of stories about self and others, including not only the images and memories of real happenings, but also imaginations of mentally created events and how these stories are formed, accessed, reaccessed and modified.

This study of a psychological perspective of accounts was first explicitly introduced by Weiss in 1975, even though he was concentrating on marital separation. In his definition of the situation, he argued that:

“The account is of major psychological importance to be separated, not only because it settles the issue of who was responsible for what, but also because it imposes on the confused marital events that preceded the separation of a plot structure with a beginning, middle, and end and also organizes the events into a conceptually manageable unity. Once understood in this way, the events can be dealt with. They can be seen as outcomes of identifiable causes and, eventually, can be seen as past, over and external to the individual’s present self. Those who cannot construct accounts sometimes feel that their perplexity keeps them from detaching themselves from the distressing experiences. (Weiss, 1975, pp. 14-15)

According to his analysis, Weiss suggests that the account-making process may play a restorative role in many types of griefwork after loss hence “those who cannot construct accounts sometimes feel that their perplexity keeps them from detaching from the distressing experiences.”

4.1.1.2 Basic Characteristics

The account-making process involves several component activities which include the cognitive work of remembering, analyzing, searching one’s mind and the development of subsidiary activities such as affective reactions and behavioural expectations. This could further involve discussions with others as a way of soliciting their response to the story or just to use them as boards for a monologue.

Accounts could be seen as photo albums in that they may be organized according to our recollection of our lives/relationship with our significant others and relevant events concerning them and our interpretation of their meaning in a broader picture of our lives, just as we may have a set of illustrated photographs. This type of organization is called the "compartmentalization of accounts". There is another type of account-making called or referred to as macronarrative by Gergen (1988) which includes the overarching master account that subsumes and organizes more specific accounts. This macronarrative refers to a person's overall life story and may be distinguished from the micronarrative which refers to accounts of brief incidents.

According to Kelly (1983), accounts are perceived as casual structure that pertains to the networks or chains of causes that people often employ in understanding events. This is more of a recurring process of a cause and an effect which is not necessarily mandatory or predictable in that, several causes may jointly determine a single effect or a given cause may give rise to several different effects. To a certain extent, the concept of perceived casual structure may be seen as bearing a considerable resemblance to that of an account and also taking into consideration that people's perceptions play a role in accounts. That is, accounts represent the product of the end or retrospective stage in the explaining process, while perceived casual structures may come into play either at the beginning or as part of the account-making activity.

Like stories that drag on for a long time, sharply etched, dramatic, powerful, highly coherent, complete and sometimes more like meanderings, erratically pieced together fragments of meaning regarding central events and people of our psychic stages, but also have the same ending, so are accounts and account-giving. However, it is important to note that irrespective of this similarity, accounts and account-making has different themes of different accounts per eras of a person's life which is of consequence. To sustain this idea, an individual may develop an account as if searching for a hypotheses that best fit situation or rather perceived belief (perception). As a result the more an individual has experiences of more than one close relationship, the more the accounts accumulate and even exert an influence on the parties involved. Even though this study endorses the importance of the contents of accounts, it is mostly interested and focussed on the process of forming the account and the feeling that a person has a sufficient account which is most relevant to the psychological well-being and direction.

According to Robert Penn Warren (1989), account-making process is more like "life in motion" whereby individual characters are presented as moving through their experiences, dealing with some conflict or problem in their respective lives and diligently searching for resolution at the same time. This study therefore, is focussed on the individual mind's quest to understand major stresses such as the overwhelming whys and why mes in our daily lives which are basically the result of the daily experiences of destitution, depression, divorce, death in the family or of a close friend, physical disability, etc. All these experiences call for account-making in a form of contextualization of these events in our mental life system, and all this result from that need or rather urge in us of seeking and finding our identity, wanting to know who we are, who and what do we want to be, what might come of us and we certainly don't want some things particularly terrible ones happen to us. To do this, we definitely need courage to face and come to terms with our loss and to construe something of value as a result of the loss, and this is why Judith Viorst (1986) maintains that "Throughout our life we grow by giving up. We give up some of our deepest attachments to others. We give up cherished parts of ourselves... Passionate investment leaves us vulnerable to loss. And sometimes, no matter how clever we are, we must lose" (Viorst, 1986, p.3).

Some individuals seek solace by writing about their grief, forming talk shows in various radio stations and television channels and even form social clubs and organisations, hence we now have your Hope Worldwide and TAC for the Aids-sufferers or people living with Aids, and there are also other structures of disabled or rather physically challenged people as they want to be called and plenty of other structures which help the people concerned to cope and find meaning beyond loss, grief and in so doing, giving some of that hope and meaning to others who are also suffering "silently".

4.1.1.3 The Whys of Accounts: Motivations for Account-making

According to Harvey et al. (1990) "account-making becomes most pronounced as a way of dealing with the world for the young adult, when this developing person has begun to taste some of life's bitter pills such as the pain of rejection in dating and social activity, and the crushing blow of defeat in athletic or academic performance". Thus, account-making or story-telling derives basically from "a fall from perfection" or from having to come to terms with difficult and traumatic situations and it is in under these circumstances whereby we

turn to explanations provided by others and by the media which helps to ease the pain a little and gets us back on our feet again.

According to research, much of the contents of our account-making of close relationships is acquired from relationship conversations we engage ourselves in and also from the conversations we overhear from others, television and radio. Even though it is believed that women are the ones who are mostly and frequently engaged in the so-called "relationship talk", men also do engage themselves in both the "relationship talk" and the "relationship think" (a private form of account-making) as often as women do. Both men and women learn how to deal and talk about different kinds of dilemma and trauma through others who have experienced such problems.

There are five sets of account-motivations that have been identified, and they are:

- (i) Enhancement of feelings of control and clarification of understanding,
- (ii) Self-esteem maintenance and enhancement,
- (iii) Emotional purging,
- (iv) The search for closure and an end in themselves, and
- (v) An enlightened feeling and an enhanced will and hope.

All these motivations are discussed in detail and extensively.

(i) Quest for control and understanding

In his discussion of the value of accounts by newly separated divorced grieving person, Weiss (1975) discovered that the principal motivation of the recently separated individual in trying to cope with the emotion and loss is to gain a greater sense of understanding why the relationship ended and that of personal control over the situation and the future. At this stage events that seemed to offer little coherence during their unfolding now seem to take shape, make sense and are understandable: "How could I have been so stupid, believing everything he said? I should have seen this coming? How could I have thought that he would ever change? That he would ever be a true gentleman and be truly committed to one relationship?" These questions sort of help an individual to have a broader and greater understanding of the situation in question and give him or her hope of gaining and having more control over situations of the same calibre in the future. Therefore, the "actor-account-maker" is always more in control than the actor who does not have an account available. This further assists the actor to have more control for the similar types of events because

by having a scheme helps them feel that they have more control and predictability in their lives. The ability to organize experiences and knowledge is seen as a symbol of one's growth as a social being and that one is ready to face and resolve future mishaps with more confidence. Thus, this motivation in account-making is befitting to the self-insight and a sense of positive personal control which contributes massively to the individual's self-esteem.

(ii) Self-esteem maintenance and enhancement

This phenomenon is a precious and yet a very fragile commodity of each human being and is easily damaged and irreparable most of the times. It is of this reason that you find people taking lot of strides in trying to hold firmly and even bolster their sense of self-worth, and this is evident through the stories or accounts told to selves and to others. According to Cross (1986), people go to an extent of fitting events that they observe into those that they know in order to gain a sense of greater personal importance and "power" hence: "until she... writes down whatever happened, turns it into a story, it hasn't happened, it hasn't shape, form, reality. I think so many women keep diaries and journals in the hope of giving some shape to their inchoate lives" (Cross, 1986, p. 35).

According to Harvey et al (1990), account-making comes in various forms, in conversations, writing and told to the self by means of private reflections which are mostly designed to enhance or protect the self-esteem. Jones and Pittman (1982) suggest that people use various presentation tactics in different situations whereby they may ingratiate themselves with others or self-promote themselves, etc. But the key issue here is that the personal story is used as the key aspect of the strategy. For example, a woman may tell a prospective lover that her fiancé left her and their wonderful relationship because of his need to explore new avenues and more adventure which he could find only with a much younger woman or rather a "girl". Basically, what she is doing here is suggest to this man, the potential lover that she is a woman of stature, faithful and otherwise, and that she would be both a good lover and perfect partner who deserves only the best.

This works both ways, because a man could also report to a woman friend that "I find myself in a very awkward position, not knowing what to do. When I used to go out with my friends, she complained that I don't spend quality time with her, so on and so forth. Now she is bored sick with me, complaining that I don't smoke, I don't drink like other men and

sometimes that even when she has done me so wrong, I don't beat her. What is it that women want in a man? This is so frustrating!!" is in actual fact soliciting the female counterpart's affections so as to dissuade himself from the view that he will never be a good and a perfect lover to any woman.

According to this interface, people regularly select a particular account depending on who is listening and as such the audience's receptiveness and response are anticipated, and the reported account tailored accordingly. It is believed also that people may be confused as to what is the actual truth, of a particular account as there have been many versions presented, and this also makes it difficult to know or remember which story was believed strongly than others. This further result to people/ actors themselves believing the stories they tell to others hence "saying is believing". As far as biographies are concerned, we should consider the possibility of cognitive or motivated distortion and bias in memory which is very strong in the act of recalling one's own life-events.

What is most important about this account-making motivation is that the reported account will always be designed to have an enhancing or restorative effect on self-worth. According to Mead (1934), the social mind is the assimilation of the social process within the individual. The individual takes the role of other and reacts as other would or should and by so doing the individual shares the perception of other. Therefore, the social affirmation or feedback process for our thoughts and feelings is too persuasive and powerful for most humans to totally and diligently avoid.

(iii) Emotional purging

Accounts are sometimes used to experience catharsis or purge actors of unpleasant emotional states that have built up in the grieving process. As it has been mentioned earlier that accounts could be in a form of a conversation or writing down thoughts and feelings in diaries, Rosenblatt (1983) discovered that grieving in a form of a diary-reporting relieves the individual of part of the continuing emotional attachment to the lost loved one. What this means is that diary-reporting facilitates the natural detachment process, that is, it helps dull the pain and ease the burden, and sometimes makes the account-maker feel less responsible or guilty for the loss. But, if account-making is relevant to self-esteem, then emotional purging is undertaken to relieve oneself of emotional pain. Thus, account-making in bereavement is simply a pure form of grieving and releasing or letting go.

However, even though we've only talked of writing as a primary form of emotional purging, music or the lyrics of songs are often related to the cathartic function of account-making. In South Africa we have numerous examples of artists who wrote and played songs to comfort and make people understand the situation and state of things during the apartheid era that mostly helped the oppressed to deal with their situation. Among these artists we could add the names of Mirriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Don Mattera through his poetry, the likes of Todd Matshikiza, Brenda Fassie, Lucky Dube particularly his title track "I am a prisoner – that is in his own country" and others.

Hugh Masekela's song "**Isitimela**" is in a way trying to comfort people in particular families of the miners, that they must not think that just because they are in the mines they are having time of their lives, but that they are suffering more than ever under the squalous conditions they live in in the mines. They are trying to cope with all the hard work and the treatment they get from their employers and the worst part of it is that they don't have anyone to share that with such as their loved ones. He says:

Sihleli njengezinja.

Sikhumbul'abazali bethu mamawe

Sikhumbul'abafazi bethu

Sikhumbula nezingane zethu babawe

Sikhumbula abotsheri bethu mamawe...

Sitimela sihamba ngamalahle sivel'eTalagubhayi

Sandilahla kwaGuqa...

The song is also trying to portray the hardships miners are faced with and is seeking some kind of understanding from the miners' loved ones that they should understand that they are thought of all the time and if situations were different, miners would rather be with them instead.

Baba Don Mattera's poetry also provided some kind of comfort to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and also an understanding to the sympathisers outside the country. He had to flee the country and go to exile because the apartheid system saw him as a threat to their government. This is one of his poems:

Lament ...

I weep for you my country

That you must someday bear testimony

To the final folly
When men turn against each other.

When those who kill for seeming love
Die for lack of it
When the trodden rise up in anger.

O I weep for South Africa
And dread the long nightfall
We so hastily call.

I weep for you my country
For was it not you that suffered us to birth
Your sustaining breasts
That nourished our tender limbs
As we sucked from a common vein
And pride was heavy on your heart.

But how is it now
Sweet mother of my life and love
That our white brothers
Gather crops from fields
They have not ploughed
While we dark sons
Feed on Bitter Fruit . . .

August 1970

(Mattera, D. 1983. Azanian love song. Johannesburg: Skotaville.)

(iv) The search for closure: The account as an End in Itself

In many a times, account-making is perceived as a means of seeking mental closure on a series of events or as an end in itself. According to Harvey, Weber and Stanley (1987), the importance of closure cannot be underestimated in terms of psychological tranquility. Bluma Zeigarnik (1920...) with his theory of the Zeigarnik maintains that people feel very much ill-at-ease if a story is left unfinished and are most likely to remember that story for eternity, whereas those who finished the story are likely to easily forget about that story.

This is the true reflection of what happens in close relationships, we all tend to be mostly focussed on tying all the loose ends as far as our relationships are concerned, particularly the failing and the failed ones, more like not wanting to leave unresolved issues that might backfire in the future.

Finding this form of closure provides stability in a way, in that it is mostly seen as a “means of justice to self”, the lone vestige of the close relationship now ended as Harvey et al. (1990) puts it. However, Harvey et al. (1982) suggest that close relationships do not end, instead they continue at the cognitive and emotional level rather than in a day-to-day interaction and experience. They argue that “relationships are as much symbolic events and images to the involved parties as they are interactional episodes or histories. We may put spaces or time or other people between ourselves and formerly significant others, but we maintain the relationships in our mind” (Harvey et al., 1982, p. 119).

(v) Enlightened feeling and enhanced will and hope

Telling of stories as in a form of accounts enlightens and gives the account-maker the will and the hope to continue living. This phenomenon is very important in human life in that it strongly represents a positive and uplifting experience and moreover, it involves a broader motivation which might involve a desire to contribute to others in a very selfless manner and attitude. This contribution has been going on for time immemorial and mostly through folklore in the South African cultures. As Barbara Myerhoff, the anthropologist has observed in her analysis of the lives and struggles of the elderly Jewish immigrants living in Los Angeles, that they regularly told stories of their former lives as a way of giving continuity to their shared cultural traditions and belief systems. So this element of being homo narrans (humankind as story-teller) in human beings, is basically what has also kept the South African Bantus if I may call them that, going and not just knowing but also holding on to their cultural norms and values after the British colonialism and during the apartheid regime in the country. Most of us learnt of how our people used to live and how the situation used to be through narratives and folklore and that has also helped to build our identity and to keep on fighting for and to maintain it. This wouldn't have been possible without those stories, hence Myerhoff argues that in any culture the very fabric of meaning that constitutes every person's existence is the “story” we tell about ourselves.

After reading "Troubled Waters" by Joseph Diescho, as the youth of today and the politically literate individual, you begin to understand why and how South Africa was doomed between the 1940's and 1990 specifically.

Also reading Winnie Mandela's "A Part of me Left with Him", "Long Walk to Freedom" of Nelson Mandela and many other writings including Alan Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country", you find that there is an element of much upliftment in the writings themselves not only for the writers but mostly for the readers.

4.1.1.4 The Whens of Accounts

Accounts are most crucial to people's adaptation during times of crisis and trauma, times which insists on understanding and being in control of the situation. It is therefore, after the problematic situation that accounts are developed, that is after the so-called "fall from perfection" when an event of such magnitude as to shake a person's reality or even self-identity occurs (Harvey, Weber and Orbuch, 1990).

Thus, attributional activity, that of seeking casual explanations occurs more often under negative than positive moods (Schwarz and Clore, 1983) and this is true in the sense that you can never find people wanting or demanding explanations from others if everything is fine and joyous.

4.1.1.5 The Whens of Accounts

Harvey et al. argue that anyone who is grieving develops accounts. There is also another debatable belief that women are both more active in their account-making and more skilled in effectively expressing feelings in accounts than men do. Maybe this applied in the 18th and the early 19th centuries, but most definitely not these days because men have proved to be more eloquent and articulative about their feelings and in analyses of close relationships as much as women do. Two centuries ago men were socialized in such a way that they were not allowed to be more expressive and analytical about their feelings and to be intimate towards close relationships.

However, even though both men and women do engage in this exercise of account-making, their approaches seem to differ in that women unlike men don't wait until major

problems start to surface in the relationship, they start with the attributional analysis right from the beginning of the relationship and that helps them to always be on track of things, knowing when, why and how the problematic situation started.

4.1.1.6 The Hows of Accounts

Accounts are manifested in all kinds of arts and symbolic representation, that is they are both verbal and non-verbal in a form of writing because instead of talking some people prefer writing down their thoughts and feelings, and then hand them over to the other person as a way of breaking the ice and starting a conversation or discussion, or to get an explanation.

However, conversation is the most common form of account-making as in a form of talk between friends, lovers and family members. But interestingly enough, people have a tendency of reporting fragments of their accounts to strangers in particular settings, such as the conversations that frequently develop between passengers on airplanes; conversations that are made to cab-drivers, to the hairdressers in the hair salons, to barmen and barladies in the bars and pubs, etc. The type of social setting is an important determinant of when and how accounts are reported, and how personal relationships develop in general, that is the role of talk and the socio-linguistic factors have a great potential in influencing a start of a close relationship. It is also of utmost importance to know if issues such as gender, age and other demographic variables do affect the process and how talk may reflect deeper psychological issues in the interpersonal interaction or relationship/s.

Alternatively, accounts may be developed and played out exclusively in one's mind or own thoughts. This is a fragmentary type of account-making that appears to be pervasive in the waking thoughts of most people and it may be aggravated by the nagging feelings of worry, unresolved issues of mental turmoil, conflicting ideas on decisions to be made, or anything, but what is important is that it is a frequent companion of all humankind at one time or the other. These are the times when one starts asking questions such as: "Where did I go wrong? How am I going to get out of this situation? Should I go on with this plan? And what if something goes wrong?, etc".

There is also what is called 'intrapsychic account-making, occasioned by so-called "mindless tasks" that induce one to daydream and in the process develop stories of desired happenings in one's imagination, the mostly desired lifestyle, the happily-ever-after kind of thoughts. This form of account-making you could say is what keeps most people alive, sane and "kicking", and even those who are not lonely they do engage in this type of accounts, the "make belief stories".

Most often than not, accounts are more like theoretical constructs available to the account-maker than real stories and thoughts. In short, accounts may be displayed or manifested in various ways, from written and spoken words, to private thoughts, to overt actions including the symbolic thoughts and feelings.

4.1.1.7 Methodology

Harvey et al., (1980) discovered that people make unsolicited, qualitative, interpretive responses which are coded into qualitative indices, that is, interactants don't make attributions just for the sake of making them or to give others the satisfaction by so doing. According to Gergen and Davis (1986), and Cochran (1986), qualitative approaches have evolved from several schools of thought including dramatism, ethnomethodology, ethnogeny and social constructivism.

On quantitative approach, Baxter and Wilmot (1985) argued their case using accounts developed from events in an opposite-sex relationships in which the informants were involved. Bulmer (1979) used the analytic induction method whereby taboo topics were developed to basically determine which topics were considered to be taboo in the relationships in which the informants were involved, and their reasons for regarding those topics as taboo. Antaki's (1989) research was basically on the structures of casual beliefs whereby he invited informants to write causes for a controversial event on cards and then to arrange them in order to describe the interrelationships among the causes. The respondents would have to draw a diagram highlighting the causes and effects, and then defend each link to that effect. With this theory, Antaki discovered that there was a distinct link with the respondent's prior beliefs about the issue in question. It is believed that this approach might be of importance and good use in the analysis of arguments presented by respondents in stories.

As a set of reported thoughts and feelings, an account may contain constituent responses such as attributions of responsibility and blame, attributions of causality, trait evaluations of self and other, etc. These attributions and other contextual features may be identified through coding of the material and may be expected to be sensitive indicators of account themes and conclusions. One of the methodological challenges of conducting research on accounts must be identifying some of the least common denominations of the account-making process and in constructing narratives, words and phrases may prove to be such basic components.

Most importantly, telling of accounts when done in the proper way and at the proper time, represents a key step in a healing process, and it could even be one of the most effective healing steps associated with great personal trauma.

4.1.2 ACCOUNTS AND ACCOUNT-MAKING IN DIFFERENT LITERATURES

4.1.2.1 A diversity of relevant works

As human beings we are overwhelmed with the innate feature of rationalization which prompts us to regularly seek and search justification for our behaviour. It is therefore the aim of this section to review work that has been done on accounts and account-making. This review shows how widely accounts and account-making are used as a centerpiece technique in writing for a general public. Accounts used on various topics illustrate ideas and promote arguments about the concept in question, be it extra-marital relations, sexuality, grief, relationships, loneliness, etc. For example, Hunt (1969) in his book: "The Affair: A Portrait of Extra-Marital Love In Contemporary America" provides an analysis of extra-marital relation using people's own accounts on the issue; Schuchter's (1986) "Dimensions of Grief" is on people who are struggling to cope with the loss of their loved ones and Lawson's (1987) "Adultery: An Analysis of Love and Betrayal" provides information on adultery in marriage and also presents psychological dynamics that are involved.

These examples and many more others are a demonstration of the writers' theories of people's search for meaning and purpose in their lives. Birren (1987) on his hypothesis of autobiographical writing, he argues that statement written by people on their autobiographies give new meaning to their present lives by helping them understand their

pasts more fully. He goes on further to say: "Writing an autobiography puts the contradictions, paradoxes and ambivalence of life into perspective. It restores our sense of self-sufficiency and personal identity which has been shaped by the cross-currents and tides of life" (Birren, 1987, p. 91)

Jerome Bruner (1987, 1989) on his perspective of being the prominent cognitive-perceptual psychologist, argues that aspects of culture that we often take for granted provide a fertile ground for studying how people assign meaning to their lives and present their lives as narrative. He also maintains the fact that when events are out of the ordinary, people invent or rather constructs stories around them. He further contends that "While the act of writing an autobiography is new under the sun and so like writing itself, the self-told life narrative is by all accounts ancient and universal. People anywhere can tell you some intelligible account of their lives" (1987, p. 16). All this information indicates the fact that self-telling of life-narratives may structure perceptual experience, organize memory, and segment and purpose-build the very same events of our lives. Bruner (1989) further suggests that the most important quality of pain to the individual is that it is a so-called "mattering" human experience, which means that the narrative or story-telling helps to make it (human experience) matter.

According to Robert Coles (1986, 1989), the Pulitzer-prize-winning psychiatrist, story-telling is a vehicle for arriving at deeper and more telling meanings about life. Referring to his achievements and success with his patients, listening to their personal stories concerning self-identity proved to be the best and conducive strategy for diagnostic purposes and contributed to the patients' ultimate health and it is of this reason that he strongly feels this could prove to be more productive for teaching too.

A study on how people try to deal with difficulties that involve despair and feelings of meaninglessness and anomie in their lives has been dealt with by Klinger (1977) in his book "Meaning and Void" whereby he explains why people pursue so many different avenues in their drive to make their lives more meaningful. On the same issue Frankl (1963) in his book "Man's search for Meaning" argued that a sense of meaning is certainly important in a person's life and not as a philosophical abstraction but as a potential life-or-death factor in human survival. Frankl further argues that meaning consists of searching for a purpose or task with which to define one's life. This phenomenon is illustrated in all walks of life for example, you could see how cancer patients, people living with AIDS,

marginalised people, etc. fight or struggle for survival, through demonstrations against authorities, searching for new information on the latest drugs that might help or bring hope, demanding free distribution of certain drugs amongst people suffering of the disease, etc.

All this information show the quest and the extent to which the humankind would go to cope with difficulties, be it finding solutions and meaning or getting it out of their chests to the interested listener/s.

4.1.2.2 Review of relevant scholarly literature

According to C. Wright Mills (1940), accounts are like “vocabularies of motive” and he suggests that what constitutes adequate grounds for various acts differ across groups and cultures. What this means is that people’s actions are classified differently and there are reasons for each category of understanding concerning the plausible reason for each category of action. So there is basically a distinct vocabulary of motives in each discrete cultural group but these motives also change with time, what has not been proven is whether people’s accounts do also reflect sociological features or not. In his theory Mills tried to stress the importance of the issue of motive talk to ward off or revise potential or actual questioning of the motives underlying action.

Burke (1945) came with his own version that accounts are the “grammar of motives”, which refers to words, phrases and clauses people use to justify action just like Mills, but Burke emphasized mostly on the persuasive aspect of such grammars apart from their plausibility regarding the real basis of an action. His interest is in the accounts people provide of causation and as such in his book: “A Grammar of Motives” he is laying bare the rhetoric of accounts, that is the ways they exploit the “resources of ambiguity” in language (1945, p. 13). Snyder and Wicklund (1981) also support this idea of ambiguity in language and they argue that people often prefer the ambiguity surrounding causality in social life, and when given such ambiguity, attributors can more readily make inferences that enhance their sense of control.

There are also other researchers who looked at accounts as persuasion and among them there is Newman (1981) who emphasized the persuasive nature of many attributions people make to their partners in close relationships.

Osgood (1962) argued that many cultures and societies use judgement to order experience and to facilitate understanding of human action. In this case judgement involves comparison of experience against some abstract dimension or against one's imagination and this judgement is central to account-making. Thus, Osgood suggests that across cultures, people are regularly engaged in a meaning search involving judgement activities. This latter notion is further endorsed by Semin and Manstead (1983) that all judgements pertaining to social actions are evaluative or have evaluative implications which further demand an account from the individual in question.

4.1.2.3 First explicit treatments

Amongst the researchers on the advancement of this field were the following:

Goffman (1959) on his writing of "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", in which he presented the conceptual foundation for many contemporary theories and empirical research programs regarding how people tactically present themselves to others. On account-making, Goffman argue that when a person commits an offense, a powerful societal script for account-making is set in motion, and a demand is placed on the offender to provide an account in order to nullify the negative implications concerning the offender's regard for the identity of the offended party or parties. This sort of script is part of the embedded routine of social interaction and it is therefore vital that offenses are explained in order for a flow of interaction to resume.

According to Garfinkel (1956), people's personal worth may be degraded in societal and institutional rituals, and he has also analysed activities in which society members organise and manage everyday affairs and making actions accountable at the same time. Garfinkel suggests that accountability may be taken for granted in such affairs and becoming more salient when circumstances become problematic. He maintains that accountability is a pervasive quality and part of human lifeVexistence.

Schoenbach (1980), Sykes and Matza (1957) defined account-making in terms of techniques of neutralisation and justification which delinquents learn as facilitators and minimizers of deviant acts, but this theory is also applicable even to non-criminal failure events, which refer both to committed and omitted acts.

According to Scott and Lyman (1968), an account is “a linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to valiative inquiry”. They also provided two types of accounts of undesirable behaviour, which are: justifications and excuses and they believe that the motivation for such accounts is protection of self-esteem or social status. Excuses are statements used to relieve the actor of responsibility and they are conceived as occurring in the modal forms of appeal to accidents, defeasibility, biological drives and scapegoating. For example, this couple doesn't seem to have a peaceful time together, always arguing, then the lady alleges that “It's not that I like arguing with you, it's just that I don't seem to be a priority to you. Other people are, and I feel left out. That hurts a lot and makes me feel worthless, insignificant to you”. Justifications on the other hand are socially approved vocabularies that aim at neutralising an act or its consequences, and they come in four different forms, which are: denial of injury, denial of victim (alleging that the victim deserved the harm), appeal to loyalties (claiming to have acted on the interests of the victim) and condemnation of the condemners. An example of a justificatory account, in the form of a denial of victim is this statement by this deranged lover or ex-lover: “All he seems to do is argue with me, torment me, I don't even remember what good time were with him, if there was any. So moving on with my life was the only way of reclaiming my life, my youth, which he never appreciated. I really don't understand why he is complaining!”

4.1.2.4 Varied strands of related work in 1970s and 1980s

The first work on accounts and account-making to be recognised was that of Scott and Lyman which became widely popular among communication scholars, social psychologists and close relationship researchers, but strangely enough, their work was not recognised by sociologists which also happen to be their field of study.

Their work was extended by many other writers/ scholars, among them we can mention the likes of Prus (1975) who provided a discussion of the many tactics of resistance that people may use against attributions of responsibility for a failure event. Harre (1977) provided a subdivision of justifications that distinguished between the intelligibility and the warrantability of actions and he also discussed corresponding strategies of accounting. Blumstein et al. (1974) on the other hand engaged on an experimental study which evaluated conditions under which people will respect other's accounts, such as moral worth by showing petinence and the offender's control over the offense which were found to be major determinants.

Scott and Lyman's treatment of accounts stressed accounts as given in talk, but Semin and Manstead (1983) suggested various settings and they define an account as "an explanation of the actions that mitigates either the actor's responsibility for the action or the questionability of the action" (Semin and Manstead, 1983, p. X). They were mainly concerned with the accountability of conduct, meaning that people are held to be responsible for their actions particularly if those actions are thought to be questionable or when the actor feels obliged by others to provide an account or explanation. "The medium for these accounting practices is 'talk', and talk therefore constitutes the central object of our inquiry." Semin and Manstead argue therefore that the communicative processes involved in the accountability of conduct consist of interpretations which unfold as part of the ongoing negotiations of meanings between participants and as the result they decided to call their theory "interpretative social psychology".

Some theorists believed that this study did not explicitly focus on accounts, Jellison (1977) for example, provided an analysis of how people use lies to present themselves so as to protect their self-interests and maximise personal rewards which proved to be very illustrative. In his argument he stressed social justification as the key motivation for the presentation of account-like material. He maintains that self-justifying presentations are designed to win approval from others and that their content is influenced by this motivation. Snyder, Higgins and Stucky (1983) on this point suggest that people employ various excuses to maintain self-esteem and among the excuses they provide are what is called retrospective excuses which besides being relevant to accounts, are also involved in reconstructing the past to make one appear more appealing.

Folkes (1982) provided another form of excuse-making as an account which has to do with providing excuses for rejecting overtures for social engagement such as rejecting date offers, showing people's tendency to avoid attributions to other's personal qualities and to emphasize situational problems. This idea is closely related to that of deception as offered by Metts (1989) whereby people would offer free-response descriptions of situations involving deception of a close-relationship or to use deception to avoid threats to the other's self-esteem.

Social justification is related to social-resource exchange literature of factors involved in viewing others accountable in exchange situations, and the focus here also is on the conditions under which one may be held accountable. Tetlock and Boettger (1989)

reported that differential and judgemental effects of whether or not people feel that they are publicly accountable for their actions.

Schlenker and his colleagues argued that self-identification can be regarded as accounting and that people regularly employ strategies of presentation, including self-serving accounts, in order to validate desired identity images.

Cody, McLaughlin and O'Hair (1983) provided a systematic pursuit of the types of justification people give for failure events or social predicaments. Among the reproaches given are the following examples: A wife to her husband: **"Oh! Let me guess. You got held up in traffic again. Huh? Or was it one of those last minute details or discussions on the so-called tomorrow's major company meeting, huh?"** These reproaches are described as projected excuses in which the questioner offers it as a possible justification to the person who must answer for some problematic behaviour. They claim that: "We emphasize... studies on 'communicated' explanations; that is, communication episodes in which an accounteer offers an apology, excuse, justification, or denial to a parent or other family member, friend, lover, traffic officer, parole officer, judge, jury, etc." Schoenbach (1980) argued that the account sequence involves a failure event, a reproach, an account and an evaluation.

Judging by what has been said by all these theorists, it is not clear whether the actor is aware that she or he is engaging in strategic justification or not. However, Goffman (1959) and Greenwald (1980) argue that on many occasions, people are highly aware of their tactical activity. To this notion, Greenwald further claims that people do revise and fabricate personal history in the service of self-esteem and self-interest. Berger (1988) also agrees that people engage in strategic planning which then structures account-making and related behaviour.

According to this research by these various researchers, focus is basically put on accounts made based on social predicaments and related situations including those in which the actor/ account-maker is a victim. Another important point is that the reproaches provided do not give the whole story surrounding the event in question. For example, the reproach whereby the wife ask her husband of his whereabouts suggests that a complete story of marital conflict/ instability and the alleged infidelity on the part of the husband which results in a negative cycle of accusations, blame and excuse-making. Irrespective of the reproach,

justification implies and relates to a fuller story about the relationship, and it is therefore this fuller story that is at the core of this study.

Antaki (1987) also supports this study by describing various types of accounts within close relationships and emphasizing their function and by so doing he made a perceptive distinction between performable accounts that is those that a person can display to others and unperformable accounts. Unperformable accounts exist quietly and are not readily displayable because they carry with them potentially embarrassing information. To this, Antaki argues that these accounts may be effective in determining a person's actions, thoughts and feelings, and these are the types of accounts which we referred to as master accounts, requiring many years to develop as they are a person's conscious reflection. In a nutshell, Antaki's conception of accounts speaks of the hidden issues in the nature of accounts as when they will be performable or be unperformable, to whom they will be performable, why they will be become performable, how much strategy goes into the decision to perform and to the actual performance and the consequences of performance vs. unperformance.

It is also believed that the notions of accounts and account-making relate to people's feelings of jealousy, and this is further articulated by Van Sommers (1988) whereby he argues that people often refer to their close relationships in terms of their investments, which may include possessions, time and energy, and children, and they believe that they should be able to take out of a relationship at least what they put into it. Van Sommers further asserts that jealous lovers use a variety of tests and tricks to try to find out the improprieties of their partners. Thus these tactics are premised on the stories of their partners, stories that are believed to involve lying.

The following are examples of reproaches that had led to suspicion/s.

My fiancé has a tendency of ignoring certain calls or when he finally decided to answer the call, he'd tell the caller to call him later or promise to call them later. I find this strange because most of the calls he responds to them and even talk for longer, others he goes outside. Now I know that he has a lot to hide and when I ask him about it, he disputes everything, claiming that it is one of his troublesome clients.

Luke never liked Celine Dion, but now he goes on buying every CD and even DVDs of Celine Dion and I am sure the other woman has got everything to do with this.

My husband always disliked leather jackets, claiming that they are for thugs. He even gave the jacket I bought for him to his younger brother, but now he has this funny leather-suede jacket and he wears it even when it's not necessary. You know, I think he is seeing a younger woman, a much younger woman.

4.1.2.5 Harvey, Weber and Orbuch's position

As basis for account-making, they have noted the enhancement of a personal sense of control and closure, catharsis and emotional purging/ release, sheer desire to understand, and quest to achieve enlightened feeling and enhanced will and hope. They further argue that accounts should be treated as a broad concept that accounts occur in a variety of formats in addition to that of verbal statements. In conclusion, they emphasize the process of account-making and also the contents of the accounts/ reproaches, and to this they believe that account-making is a near-continuous process and it may be initiated for any type of action which may include the so-called fractured social interaction, smooth-facilitative interaction and the private behaviour.

4.1.2.6 Accounting for Relationships

In understanding the process of account-making in close relationships we could ask the following questions outlined by various researchers: (Burnett, 1987) How reflective are people in relationships, and if they are not do they move into account-making when problems emerge? (McGhee, 1987) How important are actual, practical linguistic aspects of the situation in which accounts are given to the content and the consequences of account-making? Do speakers sometimes create accounts on the spot to justify earlier claims, and do they then sometimes persuade themselves about the merit/ veracity of their own accounts?

As a response to these questions, we have to remember the fact that people may do more implicit account-making than explicit account-making. It is of this reason that Harvey et al.,

Giles et al. felt that there is a great need for the study or research of the work on the sociolinguistic aspects of account-making as well as their self and other persuasion effects. Duck (1987) also persuasively argued that this area of study should direct its prime focus on process variables and long-term relationships between real people.

4.1.2.7 Comparison with work on Narratives

According to Harvey et al. (1990), there is a considerable similarity between theory and research on accounts and theory and research on narratives. Narrative refers generally to the telling of a story orally or through other forms of expression, and narrative structures may be postulated within different social divides and cultures. Gergen and Gergen (1987) suggest that the well-formed narrative possesses the following components:

- (i) The establishment of a goal state which is basically the end-point of a story
- (ii) Selection of events relevant to the goal state, that is the relevant acts regarding the situation in question
- (iii) Arrangement of events in chronological order
- (iv) Establishing casual linkages in terms of emotions involved such as courage to carry-on the act
- (v) Demarcation signs, openings such as "Do you know the saying that..." and concluders such as "so now you do understand".

According to these components of a narrative, Arntson and Droge (1987) contend that the narrative order, that A happened followed by B, C and D, makes the events portrayed seem more understandable and the future more predictable for the narrator.

Gergen and Gergen (1987) also argue that stories are frequently changed by actors in accordance with circumstances and as far as the nature and dynamics of a close relationship pertains. Account-making may also be done in writing or in private mental reflections which may be more fragmented and chaotic than the coherent patterns of narratives provided by the Gergens.

The Gergens also maintain that furnishing an account is behaviour in the present that is a response to current circumstances, and they totally reject the idea that people carry along with them fully elaborated narratives of all events that can be presented upon demand. This view is a very controversial and debatable one. Also their claim that people's

narratives of the same event may change over time, and their presentation has been proven to be debatable because the themes and certain aspects of crucial stories of our lives seem indelibly grafted into our memories.

According to Shotter (1984, 1987), accounts or narratives are always constructed and are contextualized within larger explanatory systems. He says: "In my view it works retrospectively, to make some sense of what has happened so far, to gain hints as to what might happen next" (1987, p. 233). He has also focussed on how people talk about themselves and their behaviour and make their conduct accountable in a moral world in which people are encouraged to talk about themselves in terms of the social order and socially constructed morality in which they exist.

People must therefore account for their experiences in ways that are intelligible and legitimate in their current social context. This goes on to contend that we all have to acknowledge the fact that account-making occurs in a social context and may be affected in substantive ways by this context.

4.1.2.8 Mainstream Attribution Work

The initial focus of the first psychological-social psychologists on the application of attributional theoretical ideas to understanding close relationships was on the methodological advantage of permitting respondents to engage in more elaborate responses. At that time accounts and account-making were not rated as having major interest and theoretical value in and of themselves. Accounts were also seen as packages of attributions including attributions of causality, responsibility, blame, and trait ascriptions both to other and self, and descriptive material.

In the late 1970s, these attribution scholars began to appreciate more fully the value of examining attributions within the context of natural stories that people tell about their lives. This led to Harvey et al. (1982) presentation on an attributional analysis of termination of close relationships with a special focus on the account. Read (1987) came with an approach to causal reasoning that emphasizes people's roles as story-tellers and story-understanders. He argues that people take sequences of actions and intergrate them into a coherent, plausible scenario. This is done through the drawing of numerous inferences based on detailed knowledge about people and the world.

According to Heider's (1958) conception of the dynamics of social perception and the emphasis should be put more on the merit of studying people's naive causal theories. It is also believed that accounts like schemata, affect future encoding of information, anticipation and reconstruction of events, and social interaction patterns. Thompson and Janigian (1988) suggest that life schemata may provide a framework for understanding people's search for meaning. They also argue that a life schema is like a story with oneself as the protagonist and they contend that a story has four basic elements:

- (i) A protagonist which is a central character seen from the author's perspective
- (ii) A plot containing problems to be overcome and goals that the protagonist wishes to attain
- (iii) Events that are relevant to these problems or goals
- (iv) A world-view which is usually the author's unstated assumptions about how life operates such as claiming that everything happens according to God's will.

So each person in his or her own life, has a sense of personal ability and resources, feelings of personal control, etc. Therefore, this concept of life schema integrates the two sides of meaningfulness, an order provided by a stable world and self-view and purposes provided by goals and some likelihood that can be attained.

Another important issue here is the people's perceptions of themselves as victims or the significant others of victims. According to Tait and Silver (1989), victims of negative life-events often experience loss of meaning, a need for discussion of the event with others and the persistent, intrusive ruminations concerning the event. This does not necessarily mean that all victims go through this phase, but most of them experience some adjustment difficulties and it is likely that some facet of account-making is central to their attempts to cope with the problem.

This study has also put focus on people's reactions to victims and according to Lerner (1980), people believe victims deserve what they get in life and get what they deserve. Lerner's theory further suggests that people believe that pain and loss are not inflicted on others in a random manner rather, they believe that the world is just and a victim's losses are deserved. This is true to a certain extent and this is why you will sometimes find people asking of the victim: "What did you do or say to make him\ her do or say that to you? Are you sure you didn't provoke him or her?"

Thus, this information brings us to the area of victimization process as part of the victim's responses in examining accounts.

4.1.2.9 The Ethnographic Position of Accounts

In their concept of "ethnogenic psychology, Harre and colleagues (1972, 1979) argue that both the production of skilled and competent action and the ability to provide accounts, are grounded in a culturally provided pool of knowledge. Contrary to this, Semin and Manstead (1983) contend that tacit knowledge may play a prominent role in account-making and that on occasion people may employ extemporaneously derived accounts in deference to the culturally-furnished possible explanations.

On the other hand Harre, Clark and DeCarlo (1985) emphasize that in producing their accounts, actors are displaying knowledge of the ideal ways of acting and ideal reasons for doing what they have done or omitted. They further assert that the rules so cited can be checked against the ethnographic hypothesis about the meanings of the actions, and these accounts are not introspective descriptions of cognitive processes such as plans and intentions. The original contents including reports of plans and intentions, style of presentation, and context of the report are of primary importance to the analysis of accounts.

4.1.3. A THEORETICAL CONCEPTION OF ACCOUNT-MAKING IN RESPONSE TO SEVERE STRESS

4.3.1 Introductory comments

The purpose of this section is to present a theoretical conception of the possible role of account-making in response to severe stress. This idea is prompted by the fact or realization that everyone who has lived long enough is immune to the psychological and physical tolls exacted by significant stressors such as divorce, bankruptcy, losing a job, loss of a loved one, terminal illness, etc. All these events have the ability of pervading the course of every human life and a majority number of people are looking and seeking solutions of and for how to deal with their personal crisis. This they do through self-help groups, therapists or rather psychologists, books, radio and television talk-shows whereby

people are given a platform to tell their stories of how they coped or are coping with traumatic situations, etc.

We also have to acknowledge the fact that we live in an era overwhelmed with great emotional vulnerability or turmoil, and concomitant susceptibility to all of healing agents and approaches. Like America after World War II, South Africa during the apartheid regime has been involved in much cultural flux which led to great number of homelessness, poverty and crime. And as such, people have sought solace in cults and ritual-focused groups, with leaders claiming to know the way to salvation and how people could cope with the sublime dilemmas of living including spending their money. As a result, these developments have origins such as disarray in societal mechanisms that traditionally have served to enhance coping as in nuclear families and the church, but the latter has proved most of the times to be source of destabilisation of the original or rather traditional coping cycle. For example, there was a church that was recently closed down in the areas of Umtata and King William's Town, in the Eastern Cape, in 2002. The members left their homes, jobs and schools to live with their leader and they withdrew all their savings from the banks and insurance companies and given to their leader. They were not allowed to have any contact with the outside world, including health care facilities, to an extent that if a member died she or he will be buried at night in the compound. It was also alleged that a lot of satanic rituals were taking place there, but except for the shallow graves and sinister drawings of animals on the walls, nothing was found because members were sworn to secrecy and didn't want to leave the place even though their leader had fled and was never found till to date. This proves the point that mechanisms such as this appear to be breaking down because of inefficiency.

Thus, in-depth account-making may prove to be one of the most promising approaches to coping with life's major stresses, and therefore the ability to try to account for one's problems or the problematic events one observes is everyone's universal gift or capacity of last resort (Coles, 1989). One other important issue about this section is the acknowledgement that accounts matter, because they empower people's will and impassion their senses, they affect their thoughts, feelings and actions. For these reasons, accounts should be treated as independent as well as dependent variables in research studies.

4.1.3.2 The Nature of Severe Stress and its Study

Studying about traumatic-stress includes getting to the core of the immediate and long-term psychological consequences of highly stressful events, the factors affecting those consequences and post-traumatic stress disorders. According to Monat and Lazarus, (1977), stress is any demand that disrupts homeostasis and in the process taxing the individual's adaptive resources. Coping as response to this disequilibria of a stressful state has been viewed as the successful reduction of stress and this coping involves the re-establishment of homeostasis.

Amongst the psychological effects of stress there are the following post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) with symptoms such as psychic numbing, anxiety, depression, nightmares, exaggerated startle behaviour/responses, insomnia, guilt as in self-condemnation, memory loss, phobias, etc. which may result from combat experience, rape, incest, etc. A person may also show social psychological effects such as interaction patterns that involve aggressive behaviour and other dysfunctional or anti-social patterns and an individual going through this may find it difficult getting close to others or even to disclose his or her inner feelings of turmoil.

To this effect Lifton suggests that the traumatic syndrome can be defined as the state of being haunted by images that can be enacted nor cast aside, and that the suffering is associated with being stuck. Thus, people dealing with traumatic situations often cope through account-making that is about the whys and wherefores of the events. Account-making is also directly and explicitly aimed at restoration of functioning in the mind of the account-maker. Therefore, homeostasis in the psyche could be achieved only if the public or the private account-making has taken place but we also have to agree on the fact that effectiveness of the account-making could be achieved through the external forces and support of caring close relationships.

4.1.3.3 A Theoretical Model of Account-making under Severe Stress

According to Horowitz (1986), the normal phases of stress-response syndromes involve:

- (i) A stressor event
- (ii) A person's outcry such as display of fear, sadness or rage

- (iii) The development of denial, intrusion which deals with unwanted thoughts of the event, working through the reaction towards the stressor, and
- (iv) Completion

Account-making could happen any time and is likely to develop in fragments at the denial stage through the working through stage in which it is believed that most of the intensive account-making occurs by asking the whys and also developing theories of causality and responsibility to the completion phase. Completion stage on the other hand, represents success in working through the stressful event and it is also in this phase where the learning and skill development on the process of the stressor occurs.

According to Moss (1986), there are two phases through which an individual goes as a response to stress and the first one is the cognitive appraisal which involves perceiving the meaning of an event, and the second phase is adaptative tasks. Cognitive appraisal has been recognised as a frequent step in stress responses and as such account-making subsumes the appraisal activities and serves as a type of adaptative task embarked upon in the sequence.

The above information doesn't necessarily imply that all survivors of stressful situations undergo the same sequence instead the sequence is a representation of an idealized scheme. As such account-making relates quite well to the fullness of the narrative that the survivor develops and is more faithful to the naturalistic character of the survivor's interpretive activity, and this is why the story-like form of account-making is encouraged and emphasized.

In the category of stressor events there is a broad spectrum of experiences, amongst them counting major trauma as in the death of a child, losing a job, divorce and separation, rape, accusations of high immorality, identity crisis, incest, etc. In all these situations, account-making differs accordingly. Harvey, Weber and Orbuch (1990) have outlined a model of account-making as a process in the stress-reaction sequence, and it is not that different from that of Horowitz (1986) except that theirs has an identity or self-concept change as a final phase and is influenced by the type or the nature of account that the survivor develops. For example, one type of account that will be related to a stable identity change would be an account that presents self as one who's been timid, withdrawn, easily intimidated with a very low self-esteem, in coping as a rape victim, became an aggressive,

vocal women and children's rights activist. With this example, the account operate as part of a self-perception by the account-maker or survivor, and it may also influence close others to change their view of the survivor.

Harvey, Weber and Orbuch (1990) further argue that possible negative consequences of failure to engage in account-making during the latter stages of the stress sequence include a gamut form from anxiety hypertension to prolonged grief, failure to maladaptive response patterns. This view is supported by Pennebaker (1985, 1989) whereby he contends that trauma victims who have not confided their traumatic experiences and its consequences for them to their close others are more likely to suffer from long-term physical problems such as high blood pressure. Murray, Lamin and Carver (1989) argue that psychotherapy involving confiding an account to a caring other leads to relatively positive emotional and cognitive effects on the part of the account-maker.

4.1.3.4 Psychological Processes Associated with Account-making

(i) Affect

It is said that the type of affect that is usually associated with highly stressful situations is an intense, negative feeling, or a feeling of lack of personal control, and in most cases these feelings are followed by a kind of behaviour that signifies either a cry of rage or an outcry for help. This kind of response is perceived as an energy-discharge which is believed to be instinctual in nature, unlearned, reflexive, survival-oriented and often triggered by specific circumstances. And according to Taylor, Wood and Litchman (1983), this response is common amongst people who suffer from or have just discovered that they have a life-threatening illness. Clarke (1987) on the other hand suggests that affective story-lines run throughout close relationships and as such feelings reflecting general emotional states as in devotion, disgust and neglect are reciprocally exchanged in myriad gestures and conversations.

This study has also been conducted among children who have lost their parents and on how they cope with that kind of loss, the effect of the immediate call of a parent's death on the life-long patterns of coping with intimacy and loss. Kranzler (1988) suggests that children will cope much better and be able to handle their grief more effectively as children and in their adulthood only if they have the opportunity and encouragement to talk about

their feelings. According to Breier (1985), these coping reactions are more effective if bereavement is expressed as sadness and not as other emotions of fear or anger, and this having been accomplished has the value of timeliness of affect in the early stages of response to coping with severe stress.

Poems and other literary forms/ works often serve as powerful conveyers of emotion and also as of images and thoughts in their depiction of some aspect of life.

Consider the following poems:

Mazizi Kunene (1939-)

Thought on June 26

Was I wrong when I thought
All shall be avenged?
Was I wrong when I thought
The rope of iron holding the neck of young bulls
Shall be avenged?
Was I wrong
When I thought the orphans of sulphur
Shall rise from the ocean?
Was I depraved when I thought there need not be love,
There need not be forgiveness, there need not be progress,
There need not be goodness on the earth,
There need not be towns of skeletons,
Sending messages of elephants to the moon?
Was I wrong to laugh asphyxiated ecstasy
When the sea rose like quicklime
When the ashes on ashes were blown by the wind
When the infant sword was left alone on the hill top?
Was I wrong to erect monuments of blood?
Was I wrong to avenge the pillage of Caesar?
Was I wrong? Was I wrong?
Was I wrong to ignite the earth
And dance above the stars
Watching Europe burn with its civilization of fire,
Watching America disintergrate with its gods of steel,
Watching the prosecutors of mankind turn into dust
Was I wrong? Was I wrong?

(Kunene, M. 1970. Zulu Poems. New York: Africana Publishing corporation.)

James Matthews (1929-)**Student Protest**

They stood there
on the steps of the cathedral
a valiant band of youth
who had no need of standing there
and I safe on the other side

I stood watching
Their banners screamed our protest
Making our cause their own
Their voices clear of fear
And I did not utter a word

They were lashed
Their fair faces stained crimson
Man nor maid was spared
As authority showed its might
And I watched and wept my shame

(Matthews, J. 1972. Cry rage. Johannesburg: Spro-cas Publications.)

(ii) Memory-cognition

This part is basically about an individual's memory of a stressful event and the current feelings and thoughts about the event, that is the memorial and cognitive activity which is believed to be taking place at the working-through and completion stages of the theorized model of response to severe stress. It is widely believed that perceived control is a key facet of the process and as such Weiss (1975) has gone out of his way to outline how people struggle to develop stories that provide them with a sense of control over the problematic events. These stories involve descriptions of anticipated further consequences and plans for coping. Schank and Abelson (1977) argue that these stories have script-like qualities that organise a person's comprehension and later guide performance, that is in terms of simple answers and action plans whether effective or not. Tait and Silver (1989) argue that account-making for highly stressful events involve varying degrees of depressive thought, with unpleasant foci predominant in more severe depression, sometime accompanied by obsessive thoughts, ruminations and general worries. On the

other hand, Wortman and Silver's (1986) focus is on the sorrow and depressed condition attendant on rumination without satisfaction about a highly distressing event.

Horowitz (1986) argues that the role of the completion tendency in people's use of thought is to adjust to severe stress and this is also seen as the need to match new information with inner models based on older information for the correspondence of the two. He further contends that until completion occurs, the new information and an individual's reactions to it are stored in active memory and the accompanying depression and worries persist. The reason for storing serious life-events in one's memory is because their meanings of the first encounter are recognised as having high personal relevance and on top of that they tend to be represented intensely and frequently. In a nutshell, events or emotions that have not been adequately dealt with or understood have a strong cognitively-emotional impact on the account-maker.

The memorial trace that is involved in account-making is what is referred to by Tulvig (1983) as the episodic memory. According to this theory, most accounts appear to be composed of numerous episodic representations that people continue to experience in flashbacks and use in developing further semantic contexts for the accounts. Rubin (1986) call them autobiographical memories and flashbulb memories by Brown and Kulik (1977), and they remain vivid in one's memory for a very long time and they may even interfere with current psychological states in close relationships or have a special benchmark function in people's memory of their personal past.

According to Robbe-Grillet (1986), memory sometimes belongs to imagination as part of the imaginative process and is often used as a memory-cognition component of account-making. McFarland and Ross (1987, 1989) contend that people use the present to serve as a benchmark for their past regarding some personal attribute because the present is more salient and available in memory than is past standing on that attribute.

(iii) Behavioural Expectations

Expectations about the future behaviour are formed based on people's accounts for the past, mostly at the final stages of completion and identity change of the stress-response sequence. According to Harvey et al. (1989), people's accounts of past relationships are related to and may even determine future expectations for relationships. For example, if

one's account of the last break-up explains the loss as due to hasty intimacy, one may resolve to move with less dispatch in future liaisons. This behaviour is relevant to the quest for control and understanding. The dreams and ambitions that we have of our lives, close relationships, etc. makes us to hope and make plans to achieve those hopes. This is a result of a causal pathway of event- account- expectation. McGhee (1987, p. 331) has this to say about the empowerment of accounts, that as a stimulant of action: "... without such a reflexive appreciation of the ways world's of experience come to be the way they are, we are prisoners, personally and scientifically, of an external and apparently inevitable present".

4.1.3.5 A Future Research Agenda

This part of this chapter deals with the account-making process. It will look at the parts or issues of account-making such as the when, completeness, who, themes and account-making and social interaction.

(i) When will people most intensely engage in account-making process?

When people are associated with highly stressful situations, they are likely to get involved in intense account-making during the working-through stage of their response to the event because models that postulate simple cognitive appraisal or attributional steps may insufficiently characterize the process of effective coping during this phase. Hypothetically, a fuller account which has probably had the input of close others and which has been refined over and over again, will be necessary for enhanced mental and physical health in the wake of the stressful situation.

Account-making is also likely to intensify during the periods when major transitions are possible such as after the death of a loved one, loss of a job, divorce, etc. This is also imminent among the aging people who become so overwhelmed with the desire to put their affairs, memories and life-story in order. And it is at this time of their lives where every time they tell a story it's as if it's for the first time.

(ii) Completeness

After traumatic events, people will exhibit fewer physical and psychological health problems to the extent that they have developed complete accounts. The reason is to reduce tension and that if completion has not occurred, vivid memories or flashbacks may persist. Berger (1979) contends that the uncertainty-reduction theory suggests that people engage in communication in order to predict and explain other's behaviour and that their uncertainty about other's behaviour is reduced by the information-exchange process. This idea is further elaborated by Albrecht and Adelman (1987) who argue that network communication systems and talk are crucial to social support and health. But, other scholars emphasize that the value of social support is enhanced when sociolinguistic parameters of support encounters are considered.

(ii) Who

Who, in terms of demographic and personality variables, gender or other trait-like qualities engages in most effective account-making. Work on social memory suggests that women are more likely to take on the role of relationship historian, and maintain a continuing effort to observe, document and analyse major relationship events than do their male partners. This theory and belief about women being in the centre-stage of account-making on matters of psychological effect, also applies to dispositional empathy.

(iv) Themes

People engage in account-making based on various themes. On reports of vivid memories for past relationships as investigated by Harvey et al. (1986), depression was related to rated vividness and unpleasantness of memories and as such people who are still having trouble accepting their past stressful situations may experience frequent instances of episodic recall. To this effect, Weiss (1975) suggest that justification and exoneration of self are common themes in the marital separation and dissolution situation and thus, most dyadic-causality themes predominate in the attributions involved in satisfying relationships. Another theme is the people's reactions to their own or significant others' development of life-threatening illnesses. With this information, we would conclude that account themes emphasizing more discriminating causal analyses will be related to more positive psychological functioning.

(v) Account-making and social interaction

It was mentioned earlier that account-making occurs or begins during the working-through and completion stages but nothing has been mentioned about the reciprocity of accounts of highly personal matters. To this point, it is possible that sociolinguistic factors such as age and status may influence whether reciprocity occurs and what form it going to take. If at all this happens, it is important to know whether the accounts will be found to mediate social interaction by affecting interaction so as to enhance or diminish stereotypes that existed prior the interaction. As a response to this concern, Town and Harvey (1981) reporting on their investigations of people's response towards gay people, discovered that some heterosexual people showed/voiced more negative attributions about a gay person and then also showed more avoidant non-verbal behaviour when interacting with that person. Accounts of this nature are story-like material forming an impression that might affect later behaviour.

The very potency of account-making that we postulate may be dependent highly upon social interaction. It is also related to the central issue of to whom important accounts will be communicated. The quality of interaction provided by our close friends and confidants for confiding and feedback on accounts may be crucial if the accounts are to ameliorate stress in the fashion that has been suggested.

In conclusion, account-making occurs throughout the stress-response sequence but it is more coherent when the account-maker is working through his or her reactions. Major psychological processes associated with account-making have also been discussed.

4.1.4. Person Perception through Accounts

A person's presentation reveals a lot about the presenter and his or her qualities.

4.1.4.1 Perceptions Based on Accounts

People interpret their behaviour and construct stories that link together the central events and significant others in their lives. Thus, the focus of this study is on the type of interpretation or story-telling as a central activity in people's lives and in their quest of finding/ giving meaning to their lives. As it has been mentioned earlier, the narratives or

stories told have a way of influencing others' perceptions and this is main focus of this study, to examine the person-perception process associated with people's presentations of personal stories to others and also how the account-maker is perceived by others as a function of the story-telling presentation. On a broader picture, this study focuses on how perception is affected by naturalistic and relatively complete story-like construction such as how an individual who presents certain personal qualities and decisions in his or her account will be perceived? If an individual confides his or her personal stories to others, are there types of accounts that evoke empathy or a more positive evaluation of the account-maker? What specific characteristics of accounts do others respond to that form the basis of these evaluations?

Even though a study has been conducted on self-disclosure and whether the self-disclosing statements are reciprocated or not, self-disclosure theorists paid a little (or none) attention to the people's reactions to others elaborate accounts/ stories. Knowing people's reactions to the account-maker's accounts has a huge impact on the knowledge of the account-making process in that:

- (i) According to Heider (1958), the investigation of the person-perception process associated with the account-making may facilitate our knowledge of people's naive psychology about the ascription of meaning, and this point is further endorsed by Jones and Davis (1965) in which they argue that we frequently tend to read between the lines if a person attributes a certain meaning to an important personal event, to learn more about his or her character and to infer other traits to the person. In the process, particular sentiments and behavioural dispositions toward the person may develop and if the accounts include self-reported personal characteristics, others may not even have to read between the lines to arrive at inferences of dispositions and characteristics about the account-maker.
- (ii) The investigation of the person-perception process associated with account-making may facilitate movement of the investigation of account-making from the survey or structured interview and correlational approach to the experimental paradigm, and this movement should enhance our understanding of causal relations in this segment of work on accounts.
- (iii) Another way of adding to our knowledge of the account-making process as far as person-perception process associated with account-making is concerned could be achieved through interaction with others. It is therefore important to study the reactions of others to individuals as well as the responses of individuals to stress-

inducing events. According to Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934), social perceptions are another avenue by which we gain information about ourselves and they can be so effective that they might instigate a self-fulfilling process from social perceptions to self-perceptions, to behaviour and to the confirmation of social perceptions. Social perceptions thus, can create social reality and according to Harvey, Orbuch and Weber (1990), both verbal and written accounts may be refined, elaborated on or changed in a social give-and-take form. Therefore, knowledge of how others respond to the account-maker as far as his or her accounts are concerned enables us to gain information on how the account relates to norms and others' experiences on environmental issues.

A general theoretical conception of account-making and person-perception, and early evidence on how the presented accounts affect an observer's perception of the account-maker will be dealt with in this study/ section. A brief analysis of the implications of the findings for actual interaction between perceiver and account-maker will also be discussed.

4.1.4.2 Theoretical Conception

To deal with this issue, Hovland, Janis and Kelley (1953) suggested the model of communication and persuasion, and classes of variables that may influence persuasion, which is associated with (a) the communicator in terms of credibility, (b) the communication as in the qualities of the message (fear appeal), and (c) the audience in terms of individual differences as in self-esteem, etc. Hovland et al. also articulated a set of mediating processes related to learning theory to explain complex forms of social behaviour and among those they viewed attention, comprehension, acceptance and the rewards contingent upon attitude change as critical to the persuasion process.

Even though Harvey, Orbuch and Weber (1990) adopted Hovland et al.'s class descriptions that of a presenter as a primary dependent variable, arguing that account-making as a stimulus property may be divided into variables associated with the account and how it is presented, that is having a presenter, the account itself and the audience. They also contend that the major types of mediating processes are cognitive in nature and they include: (a) the audience's perceptions of the normativeness of the event, or how likely an event is to occur in a given situation, (b) their empathy with the presenter and the

predicament described, (c) their perceived similarity with the presenter and the extent they perceive that a similar type of event has occurred or could occur in their lives, (d) their perception of threat to self or personal values created by the event described, and (e) their experience in relating to such presentations of accounts such as experience in reacting to someone's story of grief regarding the loss of a loved one or discovering that a loved one is suffering from a terminal illness.

Although Harvey et al. do not spell out mediating processes of the relationship between principal independent and dependent variables, they do suggest predictions that might derive from their conception such as that empathy would be one mediator of the distress associated with an account inferences about the presenter, and they anticipate that the direction is likely to be positive evaluation when more distress is exhibited.

4.1.4.3 The main Aspects of Harvey, Orbuch and Weber's (1990) Conception of Account-making and Person-Perception

(i) Classes of Important Independent Variables

- (i) Qualities of the account and how it is presented such as the theme, causes of the event inferred by the account-maker, complexity of the account and whether or not emotion and other personal feelings are exhibited in the process of communicating the account.
- (ii) Qualities of the presenter such as the credibility, gender, age, status, etc.
- (iii) Qualities of the audience such as credibility, gender, age, type of relationship between presenter and the audience, are they friends, colleagues, lovers, strangers or persons apt to be empathic with the account.

(ii) Classes of Important Dependent Variables

- (i) Liking such as self-reported sentiment toward the presenter or less direct expression of liking as in willingness to listen to the presenter describe at greater detail of the account, or to do a favor for the presenter.
- (ii) Trait inferences such as evaluations of the presenter's maturity, sincerity, kindness, morality, etc.

(iii) Important Processes Theorized to Mediate the Independent-Dependent Variable Relationships

- (i) Audience's perception of normativeness of the event described.
- (ii) Audience's degree of empathy with the presenter.
- (iii) Audience's degree of perceived similarity with the presenter and their perception that a similar event has occurred or could occur in their lives.
- (iv) Audience's degree of perceived threat created by the events described.
- (v) Audience's degree of experience in relating to the events described.

4.1.4.4 Empirical Work

In the study that has been done on accounts and person-perception, Harvey, Orbuch and Russell (in presentation) used a person-perception design containing manipulations of the independent variables whereby a stimulus person presented an account of the breakdown of his or her marriage, either indicating that the break-up was partially because of his or her promiscuity (fidelity manipulation) or displaying low or high distress following the break-up of the marriage (distress manipulation). This seemed to be a suitable example as it was related to people's real accounts, worldwide.

Harvey et al. argue that certain types of presented accounts may be more or less acceptable to perceivers if they judge the presenter's behaviour as normative in terms of the situation described. They also assumed that a presenter who was similar in age to the subjects and who had recently completed college and embarked upon a business career would be seen as acting in a counter-normative way by engaging in an affair early in marriage, as a result perceivers are likely to exhibit the greatest disliking and attribute the least positive traits to presenters who reported having engaged in an affair.

Similarly, the exhibition of great distress would be viewed by perceivers as more normative when a close relationship ends and as such it is anticipated that an account containing high distress would produce greater liking for and more positive traits ascribed to the presenter than would an account containing low distress.

As far as the gender of the perceiver is concerned, Harvey, Wells and Alvarez (1978) contend that male and female perceivers would differ in their reactions to presenters

depending on whether the presenter was a male or female, with greater empathy and greater liking which is generally exhibited by females,

4.1.4.5 The Stimulus Account

In this part of the study, Harvey et al. (1990) used respondents by giving them a story in which the presenter had disclosed a personal relationship to a close friend. After reading the account respondents were asked to give any impressions they may have formed based on the details of the story presented. On one of the examples provided, the stimulus person is female who admitted to be the main cause of her marriage breakdown, because she had an affair and she also reports to having high distress. In another example, the presenter, a male claims that drifting apart was the cause of his marriage breakdown, and not infidelity.

The results of this investigation were the following:

(i) First example

Effectiveness of the manipulations

It was revealed that respondents were differentiating appropriately between the high or low distress conditions, and respondents attributed greater responsibility to the presenter for the breakdown of the marriage in the infidelity versus the fidelity conditions.

Perceived likability

A seven-point scale was used to measure the perceived likability of the person stimulus by the respondents. Respondents reported greater liking for the presenter who did not engage in an affair. This evaluation was also assessed through the main effects such as the fidelity, distress and gender of the respondent and it is reported that generally, males reported the greatest liking for a female presenter who revealed low distress and infidelity, whereas a female presenter who revealed high distress and infidelity produced the greatest disliking. In contrary, females had the greatest liking for a female presenter who revealed high distress and fidelity, whereas a female presenter who revealed low distress and infidelity produced the greatest disliking.

Further, a female presenter who exhibited infidelity and low distress produced the greatest disliking for both males and females and to an extent that female perceivers were likely to use the standards of faithfulness and high distress when evaluating whom they liked most than males. Males are most likely to like women who are unfaithful and highly distressed, reason being that females who are unfaithful represent an available and also a vulnerable partner, whereas female respondents see themselves as empathic companions to these female presenters.

In a nutshell, results of this investigation were that, qualities of an account as the presence of fidelity and high distress do affect whether an audience will like the account-maker or not, and to this the effect was different depending on whether the audience was male or female.

Inferred trait-like qualities

In judging the presenter respondents were given eight trait-like qualities to use, which are: likable, moral, trustworthy, self-esteem, kind, selfish, mature and respectable. According to the results, respondents assigned higher positive trait scores to female stimulus persons who did not engage in an affair that is they (respondents) perceived females who were faithful as more moral, trustworthy, mature, respectable and more likable.

(ii) Second example

Effectiveness of the manipulations

Respondents perceived that presenters in the high-distress conditions were experiencing a greater degree of distress than those persons in the low-distress conditions. They also noticed that presenters in the infidelity conditions had greater responsibility for the break-up of the marriage than those in the fidelity conditions.

Perceived likability

Perceptions and reactions differed according to male and female respondents and as such females reported a higher mean of likability for the male presenter than males did because a male presenter might have displayed traits that appeal mostly to females. The

information presented in the account by a male presenter is expressive, sensitive and personal, and to an extent carries along with it a degree of great trust and confidence in the account-receiver who is most likely to be female. The main effect of the variable was basically that of the gender of the perceiver.

Inferred trait-like qualities

The eight trait-like adjectives were used to examine perceptions of the presenter. Higher positive trait scores were ascribed to males who did not engage in extra-marital relations and also to those males who displayed high distress, because these males were viewed to be more moral, trustworthy, mature, respectable and more likable. Gender of the audience did have an impact on the perceiver's liking of the presenter, to an extent that female perceivers displayed greater liking of the male presenter than did male perceivers. The reason for this difference is that females were attracted to the expressiveness and sensitivity displayed by the male stimulus person and by the mere fact that the presenter is confiding to a close friend. The trait-like qualities inferred to the male presenter were affected by qualities of the account and as such male presenters who revealed infidelity and low-distress were ascribed lower positive trait scores as compared to male presenters who revealed fidelity and high-distress qualities.

4.1.4.6 Implications for the Account-making Literature

As mentioned earlier, investigations of the person-perception process associated with account-making may help us add to our knowledge of the account-making process in important ways and moreover, this line of work helps to address the questions of how people perceive and react to others who present various types of accounts about major events in their lives. This study also indicate that perceivers react to the account-maker and arrive at inferences of dispositions and characteristics about the account-maker, the given specific qualities of the account, the audience in terms of gender and the presenter also in terms of gender. According to the investigation that has been done, certain types of presented accounts may be more or less acceptable to perceivers depending on whether the stimulus person's behaviour was or was not normative for the situation. Traits inferred to the account-maker or developed particular sentiments toward the person, the independent variables of fidelity/infidelity and high/low distress yielded differential patterns of data within and across studies.

The question of gender, both of the perceiver and the account-maker appear to be important as they relate to the nature of the account, and it points to the overreaching roles of one's social or reference group's moves subscribed to influencing reactions based on their accounts. It is also important to note that the content of our content which we present to others can have wide ramifications for how others react and see us and as such Lerner (1980) suggests that reactions and dispositions inferred to victims in terms of the Just World Hypothesis. Thus, the fact that accounts affect not only person-perception but the social interaction should be addressed as well. In addition to this, the causal relationships in this study should be assessed.

4.1.4.7 Future Experimental Directions

According to the empirical work that has been done and the value of the accounts' person-perception experimental design through the use of the account as the stimulus material, and as such most person-perception studies use the stimulus scenario as a vehicle to examine another social psychological concept. This study has also used a rich, personal, historical statement, elaborate in detail and naturalistic sentiments.

Limitations posed by the experiments provided are that:

- (i) The empirical studies have investigated only two qualities of an account which are the absence or the presence of distress following the relationship dissolution, and the evidence of fidelity or infidelity. Other qualities that may affect how the account-maker is perceived and reacted to by the recipients of the account are not addressed. In summary, an individual may present several types of personal qualities and decisions in his or her account that affect how she or he is perceived, and these qualities may have implications for how we react toward the individual. In future, this research must address these possibilities.
- (ii) There is only one quality of both the presenter and the receiver that is examined, and that is gender, other qualities such as age and credibility of the presenter and receiver have not been examined. There is another important quality that of respondents' reactions towards strangers' accounts. Thus, future research should include experimentation in which respondents react to account-makers who are their friends, intimate partners, etc as well as their judgements and reactions to account-makers who are strangers.

- (iii) Another limitation is the lack of face-to-face interaction. The advantage of the person-to-person interaction is that perceivers may be influenced by other stimuli such as posture, vocal tones and facial expressions.
- (iv) So far, this study has not attempted to answer the question of how accounts and behaviours may change as a function of the reaction of others. Thus, social perceptions may influence the self-perceptions of the account-maker which may influence the account-maker's behaviour in turn. In future, manipulations within an experimental paradigm should be employed whereby presenters of accounts are given differential feedback regarding their own accounts of personal events. The reason for this is to examine whether such feedback does influence future accounts.

4.1.5 Accounts in Literary Form

The study of accounts is a projective exercise in that through it we begin to see and seek to confirm accounts and account-like forms and functions in every context and situation, be it a newspaper article, a novel, a short-story, a song, a poem, a theatre play, movies or anything of a literary form, it tells a story either of a presenter's own or someone else's who has confided his or her secret life-story to the presenter. This section of the study addresses the commonalities that exist among individuals' accounts in part because they participate in a much larger culture-based and cross-cultural traditions of story-telling. Thus, each person's account or story is a microcosm of the larger human story. Accounts in literary form therefore, are accounts that are expressed and received not as individual stories shared with intimate others, but in more public shapes and genres as they are accessible to strangers as well. Then, this section intends exploring the function of literary accounts, some of the common themes of accounts in literary form and the conclusions about the pervasiveness of an account-making drive. What follows are general characteristics of literary accounts.

4.1.5.1 Characteristics of Literary Accounts

There are three basic characteristics of literary accounts and they are:

(i) Accounts are Compelling

The fact that we are driven to share our stories with others proves that accounts are compelling. Accounts can be translated into different forms of media, be it a journal, short story, a movie (screenplay), open-mic theatre, novels, anything. In most cases people begin with an autobiography, maybe because this literary form of accounts reflect a naivete or narcissism and these personal accounts are oftenly incorporated into a script or essay series because of their compellingness. Accounts may deal with one's most familiar or familial relations and experiences but that doesn't necessarily imply that the account is self-serving. The compelling nature of literary accounts may take the form of an autobiography, driven by the writer's desire to self-disclose or self-refer in the course of making general points, and once the reader recognizes the urge she or he will also be compelled to give it the attention it seeks.

(ii) Literary accounts are Precipitated

So far we have discovered that most of the motives, speculations, semi-articulated emotions and attributions that constitute one's account may accumulate over the years of one's experience, and they are not needlessly packaged or presented until and unless triggered by relevant stressor events. For example, a man on being rejected by a so-called prospective lover may confide to a friend or the woman herself that he had everything such a life of a queen planned for her. The realization and expression of these feelings and thoughts have underlain much of his actions and words up to this far. To add another example on this, a writer might have collected many pieces of an account-like story in his or her life but puts them together and presents them coherently only when she or he has become inspired and prompted by a real-life situation to write them down. This is the point that is called the iceberg of the account whereby ideas and motives no matter how massive they are, do not surface until it is the time, the hour, the minute and the second.

People at some point or the other are compelled to render their accounts, to make a revelation of their stories and this is made possible basically because of the power of the past returning, introspection and the insistence of the past on intruding and abiding in one's present. This resurgence of memory is said to be very persuasive and as such most things never really get left behind or laid to rest, because one would forever be surprised into remembering them.

The expression of a particular memory or perception within a literary account may be influenced by an evocative experience, a stressor-event or a certain revelation but the talent of the writer, the presenter or an artist has a massive impact or effect on the final form that is given to the expression which is polished, neat, standardized and makes the story seem completely fabricated, deliberately composed instead of a prompted or elicited one.

In sum, the work of the account is to reinterpret the stirred-up fragments of recollection in light of latter-day maturity, understanding and forgiveness.

(iii) Influences on the Form of Literary Accounts

The form of accounts is governed by myriad factors and influences, the first of those being the cultural context in which the presenter operates. The second one is the subcultural expectations which might influence the account-maker's form of expression in the sense that elderly people might prefer writing letters, use telephones and listen to jazz than e-mails, cellphones and listening to hip-hop or rap music (kwaito). That is, forms of expression differ according to a particular age or age group. Another influence is personal articulateness of the account-maker and this doesn't only influence but has also the potential to affect the literary form that is chosen and the refinement it attains. Some people choose to be verbal in the form of poetry, performing arts and theatre, singing whereas others might go for less verbal memorial through painting, arts and crafts, cookery, etc. Lastly, the very form of a literary account may simply be a matter of the media of facility that is by choosing the material that will be handy enough to construct a story and also by using substances and materials that seem closest to the material or subject of the memory itself.

The audience with its expectations and motives is the most important consideration in the composition of literary accounts and as such the words chosen have not only the source but most importantly the goal. Thus, as highlighted by W. Runyan (1982) that there is no such a thing as a "definite biography", biographers and autobiographers' writing is filtered through layers of interpretation and prejudice, and we could argue to say that this is probably the reason why lately a massive number of people is composing own memoirs.

Another point for consideration here is the fact that in most cases if not all, you find different versions of a life that are produced and promoted at the same time.

Account-making can take different forms such as novels, poems, plays, screenplays, music, and it could even take written forms as in letters to the publications' editors or advice columnists.

Nonetheless, accounts are always there all the time, within and around the surface of the account-maker's consciousness and ready to be related, shared, presented and discussed.

4.1.5.2 Functions of Literary Accounts

Accounts may serve as a vehicle or illustration for the writer or composer who in turn provides them as a service or a learning device for his or her readers. Some of the functions served by literary accounts are characterisation, justification and establishing rapport and these are illustrated further below:

(i) Rationalization and Justification

According to the information that we have already received about accounts is that accounts are woven into a story to ground someone's motives, building up to a climax. For example, in Zakes Mda's novel *Ways of Dying*, the character Toloki talks of how he came to be a professional chief mourner, being hired by the bereaved families to come and cry, mourn, sob in the funerals of their loved ones.

This character of Mda is only speaking his mind, but Mda has made his observations and drawn his conclusions, his own rationalizations about the wisdom of Toloki's ways of making a living out of other people's loss (death), that is from Toloki's point of view, if we may say that.

However, justification is not the all-consuming focus of a literary form in that justificatory accounts can appear in abbreviated form such as in a cliché, a suggestion, a gist or an intimation of an account in establishing for a reader the sense of characters' backgrounds, action and milieu. Thus, authors may provide a summary of past events be they real or not, to see or impose an inevitable order in them that was not possible earlier or in close observation.

(ii) Characterization.

As opposed to excuses, an account can be used (a) to explain characters' behaviour and experiences, (b) to enrich the history of a scene or plot development, and (c) to bring the reader up to date on the dramatic or comic action. Emphasis on the career of the character can be used as characterization but the most important component of many accounts is emotion, to reveal the depth of feeling within the character or the author. In the book "Long Walk to Freedom" by the world legend- Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, he delivered the following short speech during the Rivonia Treason Trial, 20 April 1964 expressing the anguish he, his comrades and African people were subjected to under the apartheid government:

"I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Accounts in literary form may argue different versions of real-life events. In his novel "Cry the Beloved Country", Alan Paton through his characters expresses the clash of views as far as the so-called South African fate is concerned. The character Mr de Villiers in a meeting after Arthur Jarvis' death claimed that:

"I say we shall always have native crime to fear until the native people of this country have worthy purposes to inspire them and worthy goals to work for. For it is only because they see neither purpose nor goal that they turn to drink and crime and prostitution. Which do we prefer, a law-abiding, industrious, and purposeful native people, or a lawless, idle, and purposeless people? The truth is that we do not know, for we fear them both. And so long as we vacillate, so long will we pay dearly for the dubious pleasure of not having to make up our minds. And the answer does not lie, except temporarily, in more police and more protection. (p. 68)"

In an indirect response to this allegation, the late Arthur Jarvis before his death of course, had this to say in a manuscript he was writing about the fate of the marginalised people of South Africa:

“The old tribal system was, for all its violence and savagery, for all its superstition and witchcraft, a moral system. Our natives today produce criminals and prostitutes and drunkards, not because it is their nature to do so, but because their simple system of order and tradition and convention has been destroyed. It was destroyed by the impact of our own civilization. Our civilization has therefore an inescapable duty to set up another system of order and tradition and convention. It is true that we hoped to preserve the tribal system by a policy of segregation. That was permissible. But we never did it thoroughly or honestly. We set aside one-tenth of the land for four-fifths of the people. Thus we made it inevitable, and some say we did it knowingly, that labour would come to the towns. We are caught in the toils of our own selfishness.” (p. 127)

(iii) Literary Tone: Establishing Rapport

The aim of writing is to pass a message to the readers and to that effect, accounts in literary form assist in establishing rapport with the readers or listeners to respond to the audience's real or imagined needs for empathy, reflection or companionship with the account-maker. As such a familiar account can effectively involve an audience member more powerfully and effectively than listing reasons explaining why the writer deserves the reader's attention. For example, there is an extract in Alan Paton's novel, "Cry the Beloved Country", which reads:

'Cry, the beloved country, for the unborn child that is the inheritor of our fear. Let him not love too deeply. Let him not laugh too gladly when the water runs through his fingers, nor stand too silent when the setting sun makes red the veld with fire. Let him not be too moved when the birds of his land are singing, nor give too much of his heart to a mountain or a valley. For fear will rob him of all if he gives too much.'

Themes like this fall more heavily and are weighed down with the structure of establishing character, plot and crisis next to the tone.

In addition, accounts help to establish a more intimate tone between author and reader because the fact of the account presents the author as deserving of the reader's attention and appreciation.

4.1.5.3 Themes of Literary Accounts

Accounts in literary form can yield much information about writers and readers, and assumptions about both writers and readers. This is the illustration of some of the themes of literary accounts.

(i) Memorializing

This theme is actually commemorating the past and it emphasizes the importance of remembering as an end in itself rather than a mere means to other means such as rationalization, self-satisfaction or self-presentation. The most common form of commemoration is the collective remembering which is presented in memoirs that take the multiplicity of characters and places that a writer considers. Sometimes this form of remembering can express some kind of grief for oneself, for being left alone with memoirs no one else shares, and this could be a form of inspiration to others who are in the same position and as such they might even be compelled or moved to write their own appreciations for the benefit of other readers.

(ii) Self-presentation

This is another familiar and popular theme in literary accounts in the sense that revealing one's background, one is introducing self to the readers and at the same time is giving the readers reasons why they should care for him or her. Thus, accounts do pursue ulterior motives of manipulating the readers' affections, but other writers just self-reveal and leave everything up to the readers or the audience to decide whether and how the revelation will take effect. Accounts in literary form reshape the world for those persons and characters who receive them by changing/ twisting their perceptions of the account-maker.

(iii) Making sense

Accounts are made to make sense out of one's experiences and to help establish the meaning in one's life. A form of making sense involves portraying one's experiences as being inevitable and as if the context of the account was scripted, that the character had no choice and that what seemed spontaneous at the time has in fact turned out to be

some kind of a subplot within a very powerful pattern. All this at some point offers possibilities for purpose in life and in other people's lives.

(iv) Entertainment

Establishing rapport with one's readers and listeners signifies the fact that accounts, mostly literary ones form the basis of and for entertainment. Thus, our self-deprecating recollections of the gaffes we have committed in the name of love could prove beyond doubt to be very entertaining to our friends. This could be done through exaggerations and nuances to impress or amuse others and by so doing, accounts take on a life of their own, and they resist any later paring or stream-lining to their original and not so entertaining form.

(v) Making Peace

The account-maker lays out chronicle of his or her experiences showing how events had to transpire and probably asking forgiveness, because most of personal stories have much sense of confession than confiding and mostly because the actor feels haunted by the experiences. To this point Thompson and Janigian (1988) argue that life schemata provide a framework for understanding people's search for meaning, that a life schema tells the story with oneself as protagonist. Some theorists believe that a quest for exoneration or understanding articulates itself as a plea to the reader to keep a sense of perspective and to refrain from judging the actor any more harshly than she or he judges self.

4.1.5.4 Stories within Stories: The Account-making Drive

It is that compelling effect of stories that drives us to tell our stories and as such we find ourselves most of the times driven or urged to claim others' stories as our own. Thus, in the process of retelling a simple anecdote we perceive a truth, a common bond with others and in adding to the cultural repertoire, we also earn the right to borrow from that larger store of stories in wearing our own tales. Accounts are not as crafted as they are revealed instead they bubble to the surface, seeking their own level even if the author tries to disguise or contain them. Stories emerge to a final form because that is a natural and inevitable form of stories. Our stories seek expression through us and as such they function as some kind of familial glue, useful lessons to recite in times of stress and

despair. As we have mentioned earlier that account-making is most intense in the working-through and completion stages as means of achieving closure in response to a stressor event, this extends beyond the individual level to the cultural one in which the culture uses its story-telling forms mostly during times of cultural stress and transition or in times of major crisis. Cultural accounts like individual accounts, emerge in music, visual and performing arts and theatre (folklore), and even in informal scripts for personal interaction. Some literary accounts are relayed through short stories recited as radio plays and television documentaries.

Joseph Campbell (1972, 1988) used myths to support his argument that myth pervades culture, crosses cultures and traverses time and space to emerge in form after form and through retellings to reveal the unfamiliar and also to reveal the human. The reason why short stories are so popular nowadays is the fact that the stories that are told and recognized are only those that ring true to our time, stories that attribute to our own experiences and personalities. Even though stories and accounts with various themes and conclusions are related, recorded and played, it is only when we are primed to see and hear the story or account that we receive it with appreciation and praise. Thus, literary accounts are shaped by their goals and their intended lessons because with accounts in literary form- the function matters the most.

4.1.5.5 Conclusion: Account-making and Account-taking

Human beings are consumers and constructors of accounts and as such from time to time we tell our own stories, seek and resonate with the right stories even those told or rather written by others, and we draw conclusions and apply the lessons found in those stories and accounts to our lives. The telling and the reading of literary forms of accounts manifest the inner responsiveness we experience in our personal legends within our cultural family of myths.

Accounts in literary form are composed in response to a moment of crisis or need and they take the form according to the context within which they emerge.

4.1.5.6 Summary

Accounts and account-making is identified in both literary forms and in personal introspection or social exchange. Literary accounts unlike personal accounts which are

influenced by prevailing cultural myths and popular stories are influenced by a number of things or issues. They are influenced: (i) by their nature of being compelling and as such writers find stories and anecdotes a natural way of communicating as much as readers find such material as personally engaging and relevant; (ii) they are precipitated by a stressful event, experience or an emotional allusion and that (iii) the anticipated nature of the audience or readership is also influential. In sum, account-making take on both expressive and receptive forms.

4.2.1 Explaining One's Self to Others: Reason-giving in Social Context

4.2.1.1 Constructing Accounts: The Role of Explanatory Coherence

Read (1992) contend that when people are reproached for some social failure, be it hurting someone or violating significant social or cultural rules, they feel driven to construct an account for that failure event- an account that will be honoured by the recipient/s. According to Schank and Abelson (1977), people construct accounts based on a knowledge structure approach, causal reasoning and text comprehension science. Another important factor in the construction of accounts is its coherence, to make all the elements of the account to fit closely together and this is what will convince people to receive the account with honor. Coherence of an account is therefore based on goal-based and causal links of composing an account and also the coherence of the perspectives of the account-maker's reproaches.

An account can refer to the narratives or stories that we use to explain and make sense of social interaction and it can also mean the way in which people try to affect a repair of a social failure. Both of these definitions or rather types of accounts rely or depend for their construction, on the same cognitive processes.

In order for the account-maker to construct an account, she or he must first consider the failure event for which the reproach is required and come to terms with what is exactly to be accounted for, the most significant issues to attend to when accounting. Having tackled these elements, then the accounter will automatically proceed to the reproach or the request for repair by offering an account to the relevant recipients.

There are four major types of accounts and each of them has its own unique implications of how the account will be constructed. The first type is an excuse in which offenders deny responsibility for the failure event and by so doing trying to avoid blame and punishment. The offender is not denying the fact that the failure event has occurred she or he just doesn't want to take responsibility for it. In denying responsibility, the offender may try to shift the blame to external forces that are uncontrollable, unforeseen negative consequences, that s/he was under a massive amount of pressure and that she or he had no intentions or that she meant no harm.

The second category is justification whereby the offender admits responsibility for the failure event but doesn't see a point for reproaching because no harm was done, and for that matter the action turned out to be having positive consequences or beneficial and therefore it outweighs all the negative consequences.

Concession is the third type of account in which the offender admits the offense and offers an apology expressing great remorse for the action, and also offers to make up for the damage as some form of restitution. This type of account can and may also be seen as a means of trying and seeking to deflect censure and blame.

In refusal, the offender denies that the failure event for which she or he is held responsible occurred. For example, there are many rape cases in which you find the accused claiming that he had not raped the plaintiff and for that matter "she came to my apartment with a bottle of champagne and she was all over me, we made love and it was consensual. And now that I've told her I cannot drop my girlfriend to be with her, she goes out and cry rape. If anyone was raped, it's me, not her." Alternatively, the offender may deny that the other party has the right or any grounds to reproach, because she or he is not the one offended, and "It's none of your business, Sean and I talked about this and he is fine. If you don't like it, that's too bad, and please, just keep your opinions to yourself and mind your own businesses."

4.2.1.2 How Accounts are Constructed

(i) The Role of Goals in Constructing Accounts

The most important goal in shaping and constructing accounts is to represent the situation as accurately as possible. Other goals are of course to avoid blame and censure, and these goals often lead us into trying to excuse or justify our behaviours. Even though these goals do have consistency element, they sometimes clash in particular the goals of truthfulness and that of avoiding blame and as such their presentation doesn't excuse or justify the behaviour instead they confirm the need for reproach.

Therefore, if the primary goal is truth, the focus will then be to develop the most accurate account as could be found whereas if the goal is to excuse or justify our behaviour, the focus will be basically on how to achieve that and to make it a point that the reproacher doesn't find out that the facts presented are less than the truth. But, this can be done more successfully only if the account-giver is aware of how much does the reproacher knows.

The general goal of constructing accounts is mainly to have the account honored and this gives birth to two purposes of constructing accounts, that is achieving the purpose of any type of an account and also to have that account honored.

(ii) Preliminary Steps in Constructing an Account

In constructing an account that will achieve the two purposes as highlighted above, one should know more about the reproacher's perspective of the failure and to that effect, Schlenker (1980) contends that the account-maker should figure out how the reproacher interpretes the failure event and what are his or her theories about the social and physical worlds, Having gathered this information, the accounter should then incorporate the knowledge about the other with own beliefs in order to construct a tentative account, then try to evaluate the coherence of the account from the reproacher's perspective and see if it has any chance of being honored and also of achieving the intended goal. Alternatively, the accounter can weigh different accounts and conclude after evaluation on the one that is most likely to be honored by the reproacher.

Most scholars and researchers in this field including Miller and Read (1991) suggested that accounts can be viewed as stories or narratives that present a particular version of the

events in question and they contend that such stories have a typical form that portrays the structure of social episodes, and this form includes among other things the following:

- (i) The accouter's goals
- (ii) Factors that influenced the goals, that is others' actions, environmental occurrences and the accouter's personal characteristics
- (iii) Behavioural sequences such as the plans and strategies that are being enacted to achieve the desired goals
- (iv) End-results of the goals whether satisfied or blocked, and
- (v) The set-up of the failure event such as the physical and social situation

According to this form, the reproacher projects a narrative in which the accouter's actions have had negative consequences as intended outcomes of the accouter's behaviour. In return, the accouter responds with own version of the story depending on the type of account being offered. For example, if the accouter seeks to excuse self, justify or refuse blame or responsibility for the failure event, she or he will tell a story that is different from that of the reproacher. The accouter will excuse self by presenting a story in which the failure event was outside his or her control and by so doing she or he sees no point why the negative consequences should be blamed on him or her.

In justification, the accouter admits having committed the alleged failure event but claims that it was for a good cause, judging by the positive consequences. For example, there is a structure by the ECBEC (Eastern Cape Black Economic Empowerment) of which my father was part and a shareholder, the structure invested money in various companies including Johnnic. After five years ECBEC got 20 million big ones from Johnnic and the then chairperson decided, unilaterally to reinvest all the shares in another company. When confronted by executive members the chairperson claimed that it was for the benefit of all the members or rather shareholders since there were squabbles within the executive structure and hence some of the funds/ shares from other companies were untraceable. Thus, the decision not to divide the accrued dividends or returns from Johnnic was a minor considering the fact that it could have gone to the pockets of the very few individuals within the executive structure.

By providing a refusal, the accouter argues that there is no basis for reproach she or he actually denies that the offense did occur. In all, the reproacher is just making false or futile

allegations and/ or accusations. For example, "She claims that I insulted her on her cellphone, did she show you my number on her phone? Did you see my number reflected on her cellphone?" "Did you see me take your CD?"

To construct such accounts, the accouter must or should follow the following steps:

- (i) The accouter should first assess the facts of the alleged failure event and this helps in the accurate presentation of the case, and also helps widen the grounds for creativeness or manipulation of the facts.
- (ii) The accouter must ascertain/ evaluate what the reproacher knows of the facts so she or he can be able to change the reproacher's interpretation of the facts particularly if the reproacher is not aware of the facts. Secondly, the reproacher's knowledge of the facts will alert the accouter as to how constrained she or he is by what happened and will also help in the amount of creativeness needed when accounting. The third reason is that if the accouter intends denying, justifying or excusing self of the case or allegations, she or he will be more concerned with determining how creative she or he can be whereas if accouter is determined to give an accurate account she or he will be less concerned with ascertaining the reproacher's knowledge of the facts. But, with both these incidents according to Clarke (1985), what is important concerning the reproacher's knowledge is the pragmatics of successful communication between the reproacher and the accouter. Finally, the reproacher's knowledge has an impact on the type of account that is given, and as such if the reproacher is abreast with the facts of the case, the accouter will decide that the only recourse is to give an accurate account instead of excusing his or her behaviour.
- (iii) The reproach emanates from the reproacher's interpretation of the facts of the failure event and it is often revealed explicitly, such as in: "Today was our fifth anniversary, why didn't you call me? Does it not matter to you?" Sometimes the interpretation can be implicit because of wide and accepted default explanations that both parties are aware of. For example: "Maybe you shouldn't have told me that you were coming to Johannesburg. You couldn't even come to see me, Midrand is not that far from Joburg. Or do you want to tell me that the conference was taking 24hrs a day? Or were you too busy after the conference to drive down to see me?" True, that conference might have dragged too long and by the time it ends, one is too tired even to think, let alone driving almost 50km. Secondly, they flew down to Johannesburg from Cape Town and didn't have own transport to drive self around. There are plenty

other explanations. Knowing and understanding the reproacher's interpretation of the facts is important in that in some kinds of accounts the accouter is disputing the reproacher's version of the events but in order to do that the accouter needs to know what the reproacher's version is.

- (iv) Assessing the reproachers' theories of social and physical causality provides the basis for the kinds of explanations the reproacher is likely to accept. To do this, the accouter will have to rely on the following: (a) our assumptions about the beliefs they are likely to hold as human beings, (b) our assumptions about an individual's beliefs as a member of society, a particular group or class of people, and (c) our knowledge of them as individuals developed through our interactions with them and from information provided by others to us.
- (v) Then, one must decide as to what kind of account she or he wishes to construct and what constraints are likely to be placed on the account.

In sum, when we construct an account we must always bear in mind the following steps:

- (a) What kind of an account do we wish to construct, is it an excuse, justification, a refusal or concession.
- (b) The desire to have our account honored by the recipient
- (c) Our knowledge of the facts of the failure event
- (d) The reproachers' knowledge of the facts of the failure event and/ or what the reproacher is likely to learn about the actual facts of the failure event
- (e) The reproachers' beliefs of the social and physical causality, and
- (f) Our own beliefs of the social and physical causality.

Having been equipped with all this information and guidelines we will then be able to construct an account or several accounts that have the capacity to achieve our desired goals as per type of account. But, for an account to be more effective and honored, we must first try to evaluate our accounts from the reproacher perspective and see which account the reproacher is likely to entertain and find more coherent. According to Bennet (1990), for an account to be honored, the accouter must provide to the recipient certain facts and also theories that make these facts intelligible.

(iii) Bringing It All Together: Constructing the Account

Constructing an account requires the intergration of a tremendous amount of information into a coherent package. Miller and Read (1991) provide a model which could be used in achieving this coherence. This model is referred to as the connectionist modelling and it has two major steps (i) activation of related concepts, and (ii) arriving at a coherent presentation.

Step 1: Activation of Related Concepts

Concepts associated with input information are activated and organized into network through the numerous inferences about social and physical worlds and thus, concepts are activated through something like a spreading activation process from the activated concept to those linked into it.

There are three primary sources of activated concepts. Firstly, we have failure event of which we are reproached and it has the capacity to activate a wide range of associated concepts. For example, if one is late for a very important meeting, she or he could activate a variety of explanations for being late such as being stuck in a lift, traffic jam, forgetting the meeting or a family emergency. Accounts such as deaths, sickness or losing valuables are said to be frequently used explanations and as such Cody and McLaughlin (1990) claim that they are personal and easily accessible to accounters.

The second primary source of activated concepts is the facts surrounding the failure event in that the activation of an explanatory pattern may also activate various pieces of evidence or facts that are typically associated with that pattern. For example, the family emergency explanation pattern could activate the concept of a sudden death of a loved one or a family member who had to go to an emergency ward. An activation of the traffic jam explanation will lead to the activation of a number of reasons for traffic jams, such as an overturned truck on the highway or spillage of oil, etc. These explanations would be useful starting points for the fabrication that can be used to further elaborate a false account. In addition, the facts of the case should also activate associated concepts. For example, explaining reasons for being late for a meeting, one could claim that she or he got stuck because his or her car knocked down after the petrol attendant put petrol in the car instead of diesel and as such she or he had to wait for the breakdown so that the car

could be drained and cleaned. Alternatively, one could claim that while walking or driving down to the conference room, she or he saw two people fighting and for a very strange reason the other one was naked, and people were just watching as in candid camera.

Lastly, our goals in constructing the account should also affect which concepts are activated because these goals shape the kind of account we are trying to build, be it a concession, an excuse, refusal or justification and since different accounts have different characteristics. For instance, if people want to excuse an event the most effective way to do that is to shift causality away from self and as such activate explanations that are external and uncontrollable. In providing justification, the accounter activates concepts and explanations that demonstrate the unexpected benefits of the action or that show that the negative consequences are not as severe as the reproacher suggested. In providing a refusal the accounter searches for concepts that provide interpretations of the event in which no failure event occurred.

In constructing an account, all the facts, explanations and concepts, all these items are connected in a form of a network that is not yet coherent as an account but could later be activated and connected toward linking concepts that have causal and goal-based links with each other. As a result of this concepts that explain another explanation will have positive links to each other that will positively activate each other whereas concepts that contradict and inconsistent with one another will have negative links and will ultimately decrease the activation of concepts. Thus, explanations are positively linked to other explanations that support them and negatively linked to explanations that contradict them.

Step 2: Arriving at a Coherent Representation

Kintsch (1988, Thagard (1989) and others proposed that in order to arrive to a coherent presentation, an activation is propagated through links and concepts in parallel and then arrive at the level of activation for the concepts. Thus, this process determines which of the activated concepts best characterize the event and allows one to arrive at a coherent and consistent presentation and as such the presentation of a concept could be thought or regarded as an indication of how strongly supported it is by other concepts as part of the presentation. Concepts that are not supported by other concepts in the network or those that are contradicted by others simply die out, and concepts that are strongly supported by others are strengthened. If for an example one activates two explanations for not coming

up with the best proposal such as not having enough time or information and being admitted in hospital for pneumonia, and if for argument sake being admitted in hospital successfully explains a variety of different aspects of the event then this explanation stands a good chance of receiving a great deal of activation whereas if not having enough time and information explains few of the facts then it will receive little or no activation at all and will ultimately die out. These two explanations are inconsistent with one another and as such they will send negative activation to each other because being admitted in hospital explanation gets more activation from its supporting facts than does not having enough time/ information and sends more negative activation to the not having enough time/ information explanation.

Highly activated concepts are an indication of the presentation of the interaction because it is the account that is strongly supported by other concepts and as such the data will be accepted. According to the Parallel Constraint Process researchers (1986), this is an example of a parallel constraint process that is a fundamental part of recent work on connectionist modelling or parallel distributed processing. This process thus, evaluates both in parallel and simultaneously the extent to which concepts in the network are consistent with and supported by other concepts in the network.

Thagard (1989) provides the implementation of the coherence explanatory model of accounting which seeks to simulate what makes a set of data and the hypotheses that explains them explanatorily coherent. According to this model, goals of individuals, causes of behaviour and outcomes are central in accounts of social behaviour and as such central to the construction and choice of accounts, evaluation of the causal and explanatory structure of the network of concepts that make up an account should take precedence. Thagard further proposed several principles for the evaluation of the coherence of the network of data and hypothesized explanations, and the proposed principles may be implemented simultaneously according to the connectionist implementation.

The first principle is that the explanation that requires the fewest assumptions will be coherent and it is also known as the principle of simplicity or parsimony. What this means is that the greater the number of explanations needed to explain a single fact, the smaller the amount of activation from the fact to each explanation. For instance, an excuse for coming to the meeting unprepared is a scenario that requires details of different

explanatory hypotheses which could be far less coherent than a simple "The time for preparation was too limited."

Secondly, an explanation that explains more facts has a greater breadth of being more coherent because any given explanation becomes more coherent as more facts are introduced that support it. Thus, an explanatory hypothesis explains more facts and as such it receives more activation.

Thirdly, a less coherent explanation will have facts that actively contradict it and those facts will have a negative relationship to the explanatory hypotheses and will therefore send negative activation to that hypothesis. To deal with this the accuser will have to convince the reproacher that the reproach is not plausible as it is not consistent with some of the facts, and this could be done by trying to make salient facts that the reproacher has ignored or alternatively by acquainting the reproacher with the facts of which she or he is not aware. This does not necessarily mean that the accuser will only stick to the actual facts, she or he may also try to fabricate the facts that if believed by the reproacher will reduce the plausibility of the narrative underlying the reproach.

The fourth principle is that explanations are more coherent if they are explained by higher order explanations. An explanation of being late for a meeting because of traffic jam will become more coherent if one explains why the traffic jam occurred. For example: "I got stuck in a massive traffic jam because an oil truck overturned in the highway and as a result two lanes had to be closed down and only one lane was operating." Or "I am so sorry I had to cut you off on the phone earlier because we had an unexpected visit our Director-General and I according to protocol I was the one expected to do the briefing", instead of saying "Honey, I cut you off because a friend of mine from Uganda was on the line and I had to take her call."

The last principle is that explanations stand a great chance of being coherent if they are supported by an analogy to another system with the same causal structure that is within the same boundaries of experience.

Thagard further suggested in addition to these principles the evaluation of explanations as comparatives and as such several explanations are evaluated simultaneously to see which is more coherent. That is, an explanation that is viewed as reasonably coherent when evaluated in isolation will be viewed as much less coherent if another more coherent

explanation is introduced. The reason is that the more coherent explanation sends more negative activation to the other explanation, and the other way round.

One way to defeat a reproacher's account of a failure event is to introduce your own version which is more coherent by introducing made-up facts that the reproacher's account cannot be able to deal with.

When accounting for a failure event there are many knowledge structures and interpretations of the same behaviour that are active at the same time, and interpreting a sequence requires people to intergrate these various sources of knowledge and interpretations. Thagard's approach to understanding how people might choose among alternative interpretations of an individual's actions is useful in that it is based explicitly on a set of assumptions concerning the high-order, causal and goal-based theories that are used to explain data and other inferences. The emphasis here is on how people would construct accurate accounts for a social failure and also on the observed facts in building an account. As a result facts are given strong emphasis, special status and extra activation just by merely being observed than being hypothesized and to this effect facts constrain strongly any possible explanation.

When accuracy goes by the board in the accounting process that justifies, refuses or excuses the failure event, individuals should still strive to create a coherent account as it will be evaluated on those basis even though the account would not be accurately dealing with the facts as known by the accouter. In fact, the goals of excusing or justifying the failure event will play a massive role in how the explanation is constructed and as such the facts are much less important than when creating an accurate account. Thus, when the primary emphasis is on constructing an accurate account, we should work from the facts to the explanations, and when the primary goal is to excuse or justify we will then work from explanations to facts.

The goals of excusing and justifying have three aspects on explanations, two of them occur during the first stage of the model, when the concepts are activated: (i) they affect which kinds of possible explanations are activated, (ii) when activating potential explanations they may also activate aspects of those explanations that may lead to the fabrication of facts that make one's account more coherent and, (iii) when parallel constraint satisfaction processes are applied to create a coherent account an individual's

goals send positive activations that are consistent with the account and negative activation to explanations that are inconsistent.

When an individual tries to fabricate an account that will be accepted by the reproacher, this is what happens: (i) the goals of the account will activate potential explanations which may activate additional concepts that may become potential facts, (ii) the accounter knows what failure to be accounted for and this failure event will also activate potential explanations and associated concepts that also provide the basis for potential facts, (iii) the accounter should then ascertain what facts the reproacher knows or is likely to know and these should become part of any plausible account, and should also activate a variety of related concepts including potential explanations. The reason for this is that facts known to the reproacher do place strong constraints on the explanation and on any attempt to fabricate the facts, and (iv) the accounter should try to figure out what social and physical theories are believed by the reproacher because these also provide potential explanations for the failure event.

There are two kinds of facts, some of them are known by the reproacher and for that reason they should be given greater weight or recognition by the accounter when constructing his or her account and other facts are hypothesized (made up) and should receive less weight. In a case whereby these two kinds of facts contradict one another, the known fact should therefore have an advantage and as such receive greater weight. But, the hypothesized fact stand a chance of gaining greater weight or plausibility if it is explained by an explanation and is also not contradicted by other explanations or facts.

According to Thagard, the transmission of activation is symmetric in that explanations also send activation to the facts they explain just as much as facts send activation to their explanations. For instance, a coherent explanation can provide support for hypothesized facts that it explains and help make these facts believable.

As soon as the potential explanations and facts are activated to form the loose network of concepts, parallel constraint satisfaction processes are then executed. Therefore, the accounter should keep a considerable amount of information in mind including what the reproacher knows and what the reproacher believes about the social and physical causality. After that the accounter must step back and try to evaluate the explanatory coherence of the account from the reproacher's perspective by assuming that the

reproacher has the same facts at his or her disposal and has the same beliefs as the accuser.

(iv) Honouring the Account

The decision to honour or not to honour the account depends on the reproacher's judgement of the coherence of the account. This judgement depends on the same principles as those used by the accuser when constructing the account but this does not necessarily imply that both the reproacher and the accuser will find the same account to be coherent. The reason being that the coherence of an account depends on the facts and explanatory theories held by each individual when judging the coherence of the account, and as such if they both differ on these issues then they will definitely differ in their perceptions of the coherence of the account. Thus, the reproacher might refuse to honour an account even if the accuser might think that his or her account is quite convincing and as such deserves to be honoured.

4.2.2 The Social-interactive Aspects of Account-giving

According to Cody and McLaughlin (1990) and Schonbach (1990), the communication of an account is strongly influenced by (i) attributions, (ii) normative expectations, (iii) beliefs concerning the probable effect accounts have on different receivers, (iv) beliefs about receivers' emotional reactions to accounts, and (v) the reproacher's behaviour in requesting an account. The last determinant of an accounting behaviour applies mostly on face-to-face communication contexts. There are three ways in which the severely phrased reproach affects the account episode, (i) extremely hostile forms of reproach cause defensive reactions on the part of the accuser; (ii) reproachers who employ severely phrased reproaches are predisposed to rejecting the account irrespective of the communicated type of account; and (iii) severe forms of reproach result in more negative relational and emotional consequences than do less severe forms of reproach, that is by initiating a request in a harsher manner, the reproacher dramatically increases the probability that the communication exchange will escalate into conflict, anger and more stress.

This section of the chapter therefore is focussed at discussing the account episode, followed by the review of studies of different types of reproaches and the impact that they have on accounts and the consequences of account episodes.

4.2.2.1 Account Episode

(i) The Basic Structure of the Account Episode

The account episode is divided into three. The first episode is the need to explain the occurrence of the failure event in which the accounter is perceived to be responsible for the action, be it a violation of normative expectation or an omission of an obligation. Hence there is no typology of events that exist, all failure events in different settings share common underlying variables such as: the severity of the offense, causal attributions, guilt feelings, normative expectations and felt responsibility.

The second episode involves a three-part communication sequence which involves a reproach, an account and an evaluation. Each and every type of communication is arrayed on a continuum of politeness or preference and along the lines of mitigation-aggravation continuum and as such some reproaches are just simple, polite open-ended requests or questions such as "Why didn't you visit me when I was in hospital?"

Accounts are therefore coded into four different categories, which are apologies, excuses, justifications and denials or refusals. Interpersonally, apologies and excuses are perceived as more polite and more helpful in dispute or conflict resolution, and also in performing remedial work than do justifications and refusals or denials. According to Holgraves (1990), full blown apologies are more effective than perfunctory apologies such as saying "I am sorry",. The same applies with excuses that contain elements of regret, they are more effective than excuses which contain no regret in them. At the same time, excuses that involve appeals to accidents are perceived as valid and credible than the denial of intent.

Forms of evaluating accounts vary from polite or mitigating, that is honoring to more aggravating forms which are also considered as partial honoring or retreating to rejecting.

(ii) Are Reproaches Necessary?

Reproaches are not always necessary in that in some settings such as medical interviews, traffic courts and complaint departments, the fundamental purpose of the communication exchange is to hear and evaluate accounts. Nevertheless, reproaches are frequently used in most settings because account-givers know that an explanation is required and that they will ultimately have to communicate the account.

(iii) Reproach Forms and the Reproach-Account Phase

There are two hypotheses of the reproach-account phase of the account episode which are provided. The first one is a reciprocity expectation which involves the prediction that reproach forms elicit similar kinds of accounts that is, polite reproaches elicit polite accounts and hostile or aggravating forms of reproach elicit hostile or aggravating accounts.

According to McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983), reproaches generally employ one of the six strategies for eliciting an account including two forms of silence whereby the account-giver decides to keep quiet knowing that she or he is supposed to offer an account and also the behavioural cues which are basically the reproacher's nonverbal tactics such as the looks of disgust or disappointment. Amongst these strategies there are four verbal tactics that is basic forms of accounts to be followed or used. In using the projected concessions the reproacher clearly leads the accounter towards the communication of admitting guilt or offering an apology: "Now, do you agree that after all what you have done, terrorising your roommates and mostly violating the University's regulations by staying with your boyfriend and bringing people from outside to party in the Res, you have to be kicked-out of the University residence?"

When using the projected excuse, the reproacher indicates that she or he expects the accounter to deny responsibility for the behaviour in question: "Your boyfriend is not staying with you in Lobelia, Flat no. 26? You don't party in the flat without your flatmate's permission?"

When using projected justification, the reproacher communicates that she or he anticipates hearing the accounter minimize the severity of the offensive behaviour or the least defend

the failure event: "So, what you are trying to say here is that we are making a big deal out of nothing? You mean this is nothing compared to what you are capable of doing!"

Lastly, in using projected refusal, the reproacher suggests that the accounter will deny guilt, deny the questionable behaviour or deny the reproacher's right to ask for an account: "I am now giving you the last chance to come-out clean on this issue, I am not going to tolerate being made a fool by you, and you are wasting my time".

McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983) discovered that (i) projected concessions lead to concessions, and that (ii) projected refusals lead to refusals which are negatively related to excuses. But, projected excuses were not associated with any account type and projected justifications led to the use of more aggravating form of refusal.

In a nutshell, polite or mitigating forms of reproach are not consistently or strongly related to polite or mitigating forms of accounts. According to Cody and McLaughlin (1985), the determinants of accounts are felt responsibility, guilt feelings, severity of the offense, the importance of interpersonal goals and the nature of the reproacher-accounter relationship. When the accounter is confronted with hostility, direct rebukes, expressions of moral superiority, projected refusals or reproaches that exaggerate the severity of the offense are employed.

The second hypothesis relies on the psychological reactance theory and it predicts that a severely phrased reproach form represents a threat to the account-giver's freedom and produces defensive reactions. Schonbach and Kleinbaumhuter (1990) came up with three types of reproaches concerning account episodes, and they are: (i) neutral questions or reproaches, (ii) derogation of self-esteem and (iii) derogation of sense of control.

This hypothesis is trying to address threats to one's freedom to elicit a defensive reaction. To this effect Braamten et al. (1990) discovered that (i) severe forms of reproach have a significant impact on accounts in that rebukes elicit refusals or denials while polite requests and implicit reproaches rarely elicit refusals or denials. (ii) Reproachers who employ rebukes are more likely to evaluate accounts negatively, that is they reject accounts and do not honor the accounts, and (iii) more severe reproaches are related to negative interpersonal and emotional consequences, such as anger, dissatisfaction, complaints, stress, including more rebuke forms and blunt reproaches.

(iv) Different Types of Severe Reproaches

Forms of severe reproaches include attack on one's self-esteem, such as saying "How could you do such a foolish/ stupid thing", or "Couldn't you have come-up with a better excuse?", and attack on commitment or dedication such as "If you really want this job, you would do much better than that!"

Other forms of severe reproaches include (i) anger expression: "How could you do that? I trusted you- devoted myself and committed to you and this is the reward and thanx I get! How could you? How could you?" (ii) rude behaviour: "On my way back to my flat from the security and the head-student to report the disturbance caused by my flatmate's-live-in boyfriend, he was there outside the door, blocking my way and looking very annoyed, he said: 'Do you think I am afraid of a white man! Do you think I am afraid of a white man, huh! Huh!'" and (iii) prejudged guilt and threats or warnings: "You are late and you didn't even bother to call. Did you have another emergency call from hospital and you had to take the patient to theatre and the case was so complicated that it took you more than five hours to do it?"

Reproachers who used anger outbursts were found to terminate the account sequence more leniently than when other severe forms were used, because expression of anger such as yelling, screaming and being aggressive are engaging in behaviours that are perceived as failure events and as such if expressed the reproacher should be obligated to account for it. People are therefore advised and encouraged to always be in control and to manage their anger at all times.

Rudeness on the other hand can be intentional, controllable and manipulative and it could also be used to assert dominance over the accounter whereas with threats and warnings the accounter is already judged.

Different forms of reproaches when used in different contexts they elicit different outcomes and also according to the way in which the accounter perceive the account episodes. Again, severe forms of reproach affect the account episode differently and they also influence the evaluation of the account episode differently. These are the differences that are observed within the different forms of severe reproaches:

- (i) Attacks on self-esteem and commitment reproaches involve lower levels of perceived guilt and responsibility relative to other account episodes.

- (ii) Expressions of anger are associated with relatively friendly relations between the reproacher and the accounter.
- (iii) Rude behaviour together with threats and warnings, have high ratings of dissatisfaction particularly at the work place and they result in high levels of stress.
- (iv) Attack on self-esteem and rude behaviour are perceived as unprofessional and lot of complaints are eminent because of that.
- (v) Severe forms of reproaches are linked to defensive reactions such as more frequently rejected accounts and negative interpersonal and emotional consequences.
- (vi) Failure events are also significantly related to reproach forms in that reproaches use threats and warnings because the accounter is guilty and responsible maybe for failing to be cooperative, to obey norms and rules, etc.

4.2.2.2 Needed Research

(i) Theory

The use of severe reproaches and how they are evaluated is based on the attribution theory and also on the impression management theory. The focus should be more on the attributions that account-givers assign for the causes of reproaches as they have different reactions to reproaches depending on perceptions of distinctiveness, consistency and consensus.

As far as impression management is concerned, accounts are employed as part of the arsenal of tactics and strategies used to create and maintain desired public images. To this effect, communication devices are used to foster impressions of intimidation, ingratiation, supplication, exemplification and self-promotion. Braaten et al. (1990) contend that there is a link between forms of apologies, excuses, justifications and denials or refusals with impressions of accounters, although the same cannot be said of reproachers.

(ii) Research Concerns

The effects of the reproach severity cannot be generalized across situations. It has been discovered that there are three types of approaches to the study of accounts. There are (i) observational studies, (ii) scenario which provides strong support for the reproach severity

hypothesis and (iii) survey or recalled episodes, also doing the same thing as the scenario studies.

(iii) Improving Our Research by Avoiding Pitfalls

Severe reproaches are linked to defensive reactions or aggravating accounts, negative evaluations and negative interpersonal and emotional consequences. At the same time, reproachers are more likely to use severe reproach forms as the severity of the consequences of the questionable behaviour increase. Despite all this, confusion exists concerning the role the severity of the consequences of the failure event has in the accounting process. The meaning of the term severity causes problems on its own and of the strategic uses of accounts.

(iv) Severity of Consequences

According to Schonbach (1986), more severe offenses would result in more defensive accounts, and yet Cody and McLaughlin (1985) argue that more severe offenses would result in more mitigating accounts such as apologies and excuses. The more the severity of the failure event increases, the more the accouter will be motivated to construct and communicate elaborate forms of accounts whether they are of mitigating or aggravating nature. It has also been discovered that accouters legitimately offer apologies and elaborate forms of accounting when they experience forms of guilt, when felt responsibility is high and when there exists a strong desire to avoid being evaluated negatively.

Higher levels of severity have predictable effects on accounting behaviour when coupled with additional variables and as such, severity impacts on motivation even though motivation can result in elaborate forms of defense, elaborate forms of apologies or a determination to exit relationships because some offenses are so inexcusable that offenders are not reproached and accounts are not communicated to an extent that the relationships simply die-out.

(v) Inadequate Manipulations

Severe failure events are ones in which the amount of harm done to the victim or the society is significant and these involve drug abuse, low moral values (immorality) etc. The

term severity could also be employed when a different variable is employed such as failure events that are very embarrassing and tricking people into believing that they are responsible for the failure event when they are in effect not. To account for this failure event the accouter will definitely apologize, but the research has discovered that male accounters are more perfunctory than females who will spend a good deal of effort in explaining the failure event. This difference in gender has its own variables.

4.2.2.3 Conclusion

Severe forms of reproach that involve attacking ones personality and self derogatory aspects, elicit defensive reactions that result in negative evaluations and they cause negative interpersonal and emotional consequences. Forms of reproach are linked to the escalation of conflict and as a result strategic examination of reproach forms should be conducted particularly in settings whereby disputes are common and where certain forms of conflict could be harmful and also where if possible conflict could be avoided at all costs.

4.3 The Management of Failure Events

4.3.1 Determinants of Failure Events

McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983) in this study are attempting to examine the impact of the account-givers' choice of failure event management strategies based on factors such as (i) characteristics of the reproacher-accounter relationship, (ii) communication goal-orientation of the actors, (iii) severity of the failure event, (iv) character of the reproach for the failure event, and (v) the actors' degree of expressed guilt. Even though it is widely known that accounts have been around since time immemorial, research discovered that actors make no response when they feel less guilty for the offense or failure event and when there is no overt reproach or when their instrumental goal was unimportant and when the failure event is a severe offense. If the actor's instrumental goal is important and when the failure event is a severe offense, then the actor would use concessions. Excuses and justifications on the other hand are seen or regarded as likely responses to an offense or a failure event.

By offering an excuse, the accounter admits the failure event but denies that she or he is responsible for it. According to Scott and Lyman (1968), there are four forms of excuses: (a) appeal to accidents (*I was involved in a car accident or my child got sick*), (b) appeal to defeasibility (*I was so disillusioned and I haven't been feeling well lately, so I don't remember doing it*), (c) appeal to biological drives (*It is that time of the month- so I can't*) and (d) scapegoating (*He made me do it*).

In offering justification, the accounter accepts responsibility for the failure event but maintains that it was not unbecoming or untoward. Harre (1977) provides two forms of justification: (a) conventionalizations (*I am not asleep, I am just thinking- with my eyes closed*) and (b) normalizations (*Every woman expects a present from her fiance particularly on her birthday*). According to Scott and Lyman (1968), justifications are classified into: (a) denial of the injury (*For that matter, no harm was done and nobody got hurt either, so what's the big deal!*), (b) denial of the victim (*He deserved it and he asked for it*), (c) condemnation of the condemners (*This is nothing compared to what he did to me*) and (d) appeal to loyalty (*I had to do it. He is my Boss!*).

Schonbach (1980) further provides a synthesis of all the forms of accounts, a more refined scheme of the above analysis. He identified four basic alternative strategies for failure management:

- (i) The main characteristics of concessions is the explicit acknowledgement of the actor's guilt, (*I know now that I shouldn't have done it, it was very careless and stupid of me. I should have known better.*)

Concessions also offer apologies and restitution, (*I am so terribly sorry for my friend's behaviour and I promise you I will make it my mission to see to it that she reimburses you for all the damages.*)

In intimate relationships, concessions are used as a means of refusing to account and could also be used as threats: (*Listen, I told you that I am sorry, I didn't have to take-out my stress and frustration on you, but if you continue like that, hailing insults at me- I just can't take it Ok? Please don't make the incident your latest song, I apologized so please just let it go.*)

- (ii) In offering an excuse, the actor admits that the failure event took place but still denies responsibility for it, and this could be done by citing impairment or disability as the cause for the action: (*The medication I use makes me so drowsy most of the time,*

and I took some this afternoon, I had to that is why I didn't show up for our date. I couldn't risk driving.)

The actor could alternatively cite some misfortunes proving how overwhelmed she or he was by the circumstances which make her or him not responsible for the failure event: *(I didn't mean to snap at you, is just that I've been under a lot of stress lately, with my accommodation crisis, the housing management refusing to refund me and now my friend being hospitalised- the doctors are not sure if he is going to make it or not. All this is so overwhelming, I can't take it anymore.)*

Another form of excuse includes diffusing the responsibility for the failure event, scapegoating as mentioned earlier or appealing to one's effort and concerns before and during the failure event.

- (iii) In justification, the actor admits responsibility for offensive act but attempts to redefine the nature of the event. This could be done by minimizing the severity of the offense and redefining it as not that serious: *(Yes, I am very angry with you. At that moment I hated you so much that I wanted to kill you, but then I decided to vent my anger on your car instead. So I spared you and the car could be repaired.)*

The actor could justify self by invoking his or her right to self-fulfilment: *(I haven't done anything special for myself in a very long time. So I just had to go and pamper myself for once- since you also don't do anything special for me even on my birthday. Grocery can wait.)*

Actors can also justify their actions by comparing them to similar misdeeds by their reproachers: *(I find it very strange- you asking me about your birthday. Have you ever done anything for me on my birthday or on our anniversary? I thought as much!)*

Justifications also include forms such as the derogation of the victim, appeal to one's positive intentions and appeal to higher loyalties.

- (iv) Another failure management strategy is refusal in which the actor denies that she or he is guilty of the offensive act, that the failure event has occurred or that it has the reproach: *(I had an argument one time with my boyfriend because each and everytime I receive a call particularly from a male friend, he demands to who know he is and what is our relationship, so I said: I refuse to be in court everytime I receive a call. I don't ask you about your calls or are you trying to tell me that everytime you receive a call a female she is your woman?)*
- (v) The last failure management strategy is silence that is employed when the degree of embarrassment associated with the failure event is so severe, and when the actor feels that accounting would simply make matters worse.

4.3.2 Failure Management Strategies, Face-Threatening Acts and the Aggravation-Mitigation Continuum

According to Brown and Levinson (1978), face-threatening acts (FTAs) are a danger to the positive self which is a person's positive image or a self-claimed image and also to the negative face, meaning the the basic claim of interactants such as the right to autonomy, territory, personal space, privacy and freedom of action.

An important element of the FTAs is to establish whether they constitute a threat to the speaker's or the hearer's face or not. Failure management strategies such as excuses and concessions primarily constitute a threat to the speaker's face in that excuses offend the actor's negative face as she or he is seen as experiencing a loss of privacy and autonomy, and concessions threaten the actor's positive face. Justifications and refusals on the other hand are seen as threats to the hearer's or reproacher's positive face in that they convey the speaker's assessment of the hearer's position on a particular issue is wrong.

Brown and Levinson (1978) also argue that the actor's estimation of the risk of loss of the hearer's face will determine the type of strategy selected to perform an FTA and they have discovered that when the risk of loss of face is very great, the actor may decide not to perform the FTA. But, when the risk of loss of face is minimal, the actor will perform the FTA and so badly so even without redress, such as refusing to account for a failure event.

Labov and Fanshel (1977) argued that the degree of mitigation or aggravation associated with direct requests and related acts are a function of the particular precondition the speaker invokes so that the illocutionary intent of the act is recognized. Indirect requests may be formed out of these preconditions and could take a more or less mitigating form. For example: *I believe that I need a car, I believe that my father can afford to buy me a car, then my father must buy me a car, and I have the right to ask my father to buy me a car.*

According to this example, references to the speaker's need and the hearer's ability are mitigating, whereas references to the hearer's obligation and the speaker's rights are aggravating.

If the actor in effect claims that the preconditions for performing some act did not hold in the case of failure management strategies, the pattern of mitigation is just reverse, that is references to the hearer's lack of need and the speaker's lack of ability will be heard as mitigating, whereas references to the speaker's lack of obligation or the hearer's lack of right will be heard as aggravating.

At the same time, excuses that are turn on the issue of whether the individual was able to avoid giving offense and justifications that invoke the lack of consensus on the importance of the failure event will be perceived as less aggravating than refusals, which invoke the issues of the right of the hearer and the obligations of the speaker.

The risk of the other's loss of face will be the actor's primary concern in a failure management situation as much as she or he is in enough trouble already. However, there are those actors for whom an impending threat to own negative face will be of utmost importance or concern. In situations where there is no overt reproach for the failure event, saying nothing will be mitigating whereas silence will be highly aggravating in situations where there is an overt reproach.

4.3.3 Contextual Determinants of Strategy Selection in the Management of Failure Events

The strategy selection of failure management is categorized according to the following contextual factors:

4.3.3.1 Characteristics of the actor-reproacher relationship

According to Blumstein (1974), the reproacher or the victimized other will be strongly influenced by the adequacy of the account to the situation in question and particularly its appropriateness to the relationship of the parties involved prior to the incident itself, in determining whether to honor it or not. There are therefore two relational factors of dimensions of interpersonal relationships, which further influence the appropriate strategy adopted pertaining to the nature of the relationship between the actor and the reproacher, and they are: dominance and intimacy. Intimacy has been proven to be a major determinant of strategy selection in interpersonal persuasion and conflict. According to Fitzpatrick (1977), conflict tactics of manipulation and non-negotiation or refusal to

compromise were frequently reported in relationships characterized as causal involvements and in married couples emotional appeals and personal rejection were utilized frequently. Miller et al. (1979) argue that positive strategies were preferred in intimate relations whereas non-intimates opted for justifying strategies. McLaughlin et al. (1983) on the other hand found that increased relational intimacy enhances the likelihood that more mitigating strategies will be used to manage failure events, and to this effect Fitzpatrick (1979) contends that the use of aggravating strategies on an occasional basis is apparent in cases of relational commitment and since the parties involved are less concerned with the threat of termination of the relationship.

When it comes to dominance, Fabio and Peplau (1980) in their study of power tactics discovered that individuals who place great emphasis on an egalitarian relationship between intimates, were most likely to report using negatively polite unilateral strategies or the laissez faire kind of strategy and withdrawal to get their way, whereas people who felt that equal power between intimates was less important reported a preference for bilateral strategies such as persuasion and bargaining. It was also discovered that mostly in dating couples, an individual who typically made decisions regarding both partners was more likely to employ strong interpersonal tactics as opposed to weak or rational tactics. To cite just one personal example, my boyfriend has been persuading me to quit my job as a teacher and go back to school on full-time basis, ultimately I did that because I wasn't satisfied and everyday when I came home I had a new complaint to report. Now I am back at school and he makes all the decisions and sometimes I feel that my opinions don't matter that much, and for some reason I just let go and I must agree that at the end the points he raises are worth-a-while. He is older and wiser, another reason why I don't argue much with him even if I don't like the decisions he make, as Blumstein et al. (1974) puts it: accounts are more likely to be honored when the actor is of higher status.

There is also another relational factor that affects the choice of failure management strategy called relational consequences which is the potential damage to the relationship that could result to the way in which the failure event is managed. According to McLaughlin, Cody and Robey (1980), in high-intimacy relationships, more aggravating non-negotiation strategies are rated more favourably when relational consequences are short-term as opposed to long-term, whereas the more mitigating negotiation strategies were preferred when the relational consequences were long-term as opposed to short-term. But, the most important thing is that the consequence variable should be assessed

in terms of how it is perceived by those who are actually generating the message strategies.

4.3.3.2 The severity of the failure event

According to Blumstein et al. (1974), the offensiveness of the failure event is a significant predictor of whether an account would be accepted or not, so that the more severe the violation- the more likely the actor to be held responsible and also to be regarded as unrepentant. Secondly, failure events are judged in terms of the moral abstract, even after the actor has provided an account. According to these findings, the more mitigating strategy such as concessions would be more appropriate when the failure event is very serious instead of mere excuses, and therefore aggravating strategies should be avoided at all costs.

4.3.3.3 The actor's current communicative goals

As far as the communicative goal orientation is concerned, Clarke and Delia (1979) suggested three communicative goals to be used in the selection of message strategies in a persuasive situations and they are: (a) relational maintenance, (b) identity or face management, and (c) task or instrumental achievement. According to Blumstein et al. (1974), the primary instrumental goal of a communicator who has to account for an offensive act, is to secure honoring, that is trying to see to it that the actor's account of the failure event is accepted, and the primary identity-management goal of the actor is to neutralise the potential threat of loss of face. In terms of relational maintenance, the actor must assess the importance of maintaining a status quo of the relational goal with the reproacher. The impact of each of goals will therefore influence the selection of the strategy, if it is of mitigation then the actor will opt for an excuse or concession whereas if it the strategy of aggravation then the actor will elect justification and denial or refusal.

4.3.3.4 The character of the reproach

The nature of the reproach with which the actor is confronted limits the actor's choice of failure management strategy. There are basically six forms of reproach that have an impact on the actor's selection of failure management strategy and they are:

- (a) **silence**- whereby the victimized other or the reproacher makes no overt reproach but still the actor feels that an account is in order. For example, my boyfriend once went to do ward rounds in hospital and he promised that he wouldn't be long since we had plans of going to Umngazi, but it took him almost three hours to get back. I had no intentions of asking him so I kept quiet and he went on and on about a case of several stab wounds that he had to take to theatre immediately. I just said OK! If there is no overt reproach the actor will either make no response or opt to employ a mitigating strategy of feeling guilty or an obligation that leads to projecting a reproach, such as saying/ asking: *"Are you annoyed with me?"*
- (b) **behavioural cues** with this form there is no overt verbal reproach, the actor relies on the non-verbal cues of the victimized other and then either concede, make an excuse or just maintain silence
- (c) **projected concessions**, in this form the reproacher indicates that an apology or restitution is expected and as such the actor should feel guilty for the offensive act. Projected concessions work in two ways that is the actor could respond with a concession as demanded, or she or he could become angry at being the object of guilt induction and so respond with a more aggravating strategy like a refusal.
- (d) **projected excuse** here the reproacher indicates that responsibility denial for the failure event is expected from the actor, and this is done in a form of a question which result in the expectation of a relevant answer such as an excuse. For example: *You forgot that it was my birthday?*
- (e) **projected justification**- the victimized other indicates that an attempt to defend or minimize the severity of the offense is expected from the actor. The potential threat to the actor's positive face that is carried by projected justification, engenders a climate of hostility and it also elicit account forms of justification and refusal; and
- (f) **projected refusal**- whereby the reproacher suggests that the actor will deny guilt, deny the failure event and also deny the reproacher the right to reproach. This form of reproach is a highly aggravating one, and has the potential to elicit an aggravating response.

4.3.3.5 The actor's attitude towards the failure event

This is basically about the way that the actor feels about the failure event itself, that is if the actor feels that she or he is unjustly accused, it is very unlikely that she or he will apologize or the least, offer an excuse. Consequently, an actor who feels that she or he is

guilty will most definitely use a mitigating strategy although this varies according to each actor's feelings of guilt or regret for the offense. In some cases though, actors would admit responsibility for the failure event but show no remorse or they would not report any feelings of guilt. *"Yes, he is my ex and yes we did go out. We just had drinks and that's all, nothing more and nothing less. He has moved on and I have moved on with you. But, we are not enemies!"* If an actor feels that she or he is being unfairly accused, she or he may deny the offense and/or the right to reproach, *"Since you refused to take me to Table Mountain, friends of mine from Joburg took me there on my birthday. So, are you going to hang me for that?"*

4.3.4 Hypotheses

Research has discovered that not all these contextual variables could have the same bearing on each of the accounting forms of managing the failure event, because:

1. Account-givers could decide not to make an overt account in situations that are characterized by low reproacher dominance, low actor relational, face and instrumental goal orientation, greater severity of the failure event, reproacher use of silence, reproacher's use of behavioural cues and the low expressed guilt.
2. Concessions will be used by actors in managing failure events in situations of high intimacy, high reproacher dominance, high actor relational and instrumental goal orientation, greater severity of the failure event, reproacher use of silence, behavioural cues or projected concessions and on high level expressions of guilt.
3. Excuses are used to manage failure events in situations where there is high intimacy, long-term consequences, high instrumental goal orientation, greater severity of the failure event, reproacher use of the projected excuse and high expressions of guilt.
4. The use justifications isd in situations that are characterized by high intimacy, short-term relational consequences, low reproacher use of projected justification and low expressed guilt.

4.3.5 Summary and Conclusions

The study was aiming at examining the contexts within which the communicators select one of the forms of failure management strategies and also in terms of the mitigation-aggravation continuum. The question of the contextual factors in determining the extent to which an actor chooses to be mitigating in dealing with a failure event was also dealt with.

Amongst the forms of failure management strategies, an excuse has been proven to be the most popularly used and it could be because the majority of people when judging their behaviour attributed the failure event to the circumstances of the situation instead of attributing them to their own bad intentions.

The character of the reproach has been seen as the particularly relevant predictor of the account strategy in that mitigating reproaches lead to mitigating account behaviour whereas aggravating reproaches lead or invoke aggravating accounts or aggravating response strategies.

The degree of the expressed guilt is also another predictor of the account strategy and as such concessions proved to be the strategy of choice when the actor feels guilty, and if the actor believes that she or he is unjustly accused or when feeling less guilty then she or he employs refusals or silence.

Severity of the offense was found to be a good predictor for certain strategies in that actors use mitigating strategies such as concessions when the failure event is serious.

The importance of instrumental goals was found to be a good predictor of whether the account holder would choose to say anything at all and also in determining if the actor would use a concession or a justifying form/ strategy. To this effect, low instrumental goal orientation was associated with the performance or use of justification and the actor's choice of not giving an account.

Some of the contextual factors as examined proved to be poor predictors of account strategy and were very inconsistent, such as the ambiguity raised by an attempt to interpret another person's non-verbal cues, because this has absolutely no bearing on the strategy selection.

Based on the intimacy and dominance variables, the nature of the offense itself and the way in which the actor and reproacher appear to feel about the offense, are the actual prepotent determinants of the way in which the failure event is managed. What this means is that, within the same relationship, strategies for remedying the effects of the failure event may vary depending on the nature of the very circumstances surrounding the failure event and the evaluations around it.

In future, it will be more appropriate to use naturalistic settings to obtain accounts, such as political settings in a form of your local municipalities using your mayors, municipal managers, councilors, etc. Waitress-customer relations could also be used as platforms to obtain spontaneous accounts so are government and workers' union settings.

CHAPTER 5

5.1.1 REALITIES AND RELATIONSHIPS

5.1.1 Self-Narration in Social Life

Relational theory is one among the range of theoretical discourse of human practices, and it is the attempt to account for human action in terms of relational process by acknowledging the reality of human relationships. This theory views self-conception as a discourse about the self and the performance of languages available in the public sphere; and not as an individual's personal and private cognitive structure. In this particular context, conceptual categories include self-concepts, schemas and self-esteem but mostly refer to intelligibly rendered narration within ongoing relationships, such as stories within stories about self. These stories serve as critical ways of portraying self as intelligible within the social worlds because stories are part of all humans' everyday living- be it in social gatherings, movies, media (The Bold and the Beautiful, Isidingo, Generations, etc) or books. These become or rather serves as part of the organized accounts of human action from childhood and as such we turn to have and develop a long-term, intimate relationship/ acquaintanceship with the stories. In turn we tell stories whether fictional or factual of our own lives and even details no matter how little of each and everything that is happening in our lives, and in most cases this is seen as a means of trying to identify the self with others and also with the inner self.

According to White and Epton (1990), "persons give meaning to their lives and relationships by storying their experiences" (p. 13) This view is not far from what is contended by Hardy (1968) that "we dream in narrative, daydream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticise, construct, gossip, learn, hate and love by narrative"

Narrative accounts are embedded within the social action as McIntyre (1981) has argued that enacted narratives form the basis of moral and social events and they establish expectations for future events hence the events of our daily lives become laden with a storied sense with a beginning, a low point, the climax and the ending after being immersed in narrative. This is more like art which is perceived as a vehicle through which reality of life manifest itself.

Stories have two elements through which they should be explored, that is the way in which they are told and also the way in which they are lived in the social life or context. All the forms of narratives have a massive impact on the self and on the social life or dynamics of social interchange as they both carry with them qualities of interdependency.

5.1.2 The Character of Self-Narrative

In human experience of self and our significant others there is an encounter of coherent, goal-directed sequences and not a series of discreet, endlessly juxtaposed moments, and this is true of what many researchers have discovered that human action can scarcely proceed without temporal embedding. In order to understand the stories as told or an action, one would have to place it within a context of preceding and subsequent events. Self-narrative refers to an individual's account of the relationship among self-relevant events across time, and as Cohler (1982) and Kohli (1981) contend that by developing a self-narrative we establish coherent connections among life events by formulating a story in which events would be systematically related, rendered intelligible by their place in a sequence or the unfolding process. This narrative order is what gives life a meaning and sense of direction (Bettelheim, 1976).

The concept of self-narrative and related theoretical notions has been used in other domains such as (i) psychology in which the concept of script, story schema, predictability tree and the narrative thought have been used to account for the psychological basis of understanding and directing sequences of action. (ii) Rule-role theorists and constructivists emphasize that cultural contingency of different psychological states, and here the base of personal action is retained with greater sensitivity to the socio-cultural basis of the narratives. (iii) Phenomenologists, existentialists and personologists on the other hand are mostly concerned with individual internal process or experiences and put emphasis on the self as the agent and not on the cultural determination.

Self-narratives can also be dealt with as forms of social accounting or public discourse in which narratives are perceived as conversational resources, as constructions open to continuous transformation as interaction continues. In this case, the self-narrative is a linguistic implement embedded within conversational sequences of action and employed in relationships in a way that they are able to sustain, enhance or impede various forms of action. Narratives could therefore be used as indicating future actions in a form of oral

histories or morality stories of a particular society, such as self-identification, self-justification, self-criticism, and social solidification. Thus, it is believed that through interacting with others we acquire narrative skills as in the socio-cultural origins of narrative construction.

In sum, narratives serve as communal resources that people use in ongoing relationships, and as such they do not reflect so much as they create the sense of what is true. Telling the truth is therefore the most intelligible thing or rather act.

5.1.3 The Structuring of Narrative Accounts

The properties of well-formed narratives are culturally and historically based, and to this effect, White (1973) argued that the literary character of historical writing is informative. He further suggested four forms of narrative realism that he believed shaped historical writing- but these were later replaced by a different array of conceptual strategies for interpreting the past and by so doing making the narrative form historically contingent.

The requirements for telling an intelligible story is situated around the conventions for structuring stories that sensitise us to the limits of self-identity, to discover the limits of identifying oneself as a human agent in good standing and also to determine what forms must be maintained in order to acquire credibility as a teller of the truth. As far as the story-telling is concerned, it precedes the events of which the truth is told instead of being driven by facts; truth telling is therefore governed by a fore-structure of narrative conventions.

Characteristics of a well-formed narrative differ across all domains of literary theory, semiotics, historiography and social sciences and all have based their findings on narrative constructions as historically and culturally contingent. This study came up with a different criteria or rather approached these characteristics from the contemporary culture-based angle, and the following are its segments:

(i) Establishing a valued endpoint

An intelligible story should have a goal, that is the actual goal of the story. On top of that, the story should also establish the events to be explained, a state or a point to be reached or avoided, a significant outcome or the endpoint. An endpoint of the story could also be

looked at as the protagonist's well being, precious discovery, personal loss, etc. According to McIntyre (1981), "narrative, requires an evaluative framework in which the good or bad character helps to produce unfortunate or happy outcomes" (p. 456).

(ii) Selecting events relevant to the endpoint

An establishment of an endpoint dictates the kinds of events to be figured in the account, making the goal more or less probable, accessible, important and/ or vivid. That is, what is most important or relevant about an account are the events that bring the narrative much closer. Thus, the narrative's demands or the articulation of events and its position as an endpoint are derived from the culture's ontological consequences and the construction of value which is the inclusion of what is relevant to the conclusion of the story.

(iii) The ordering of events

The largely used contemporary convention is the linear temporal sequence. With this order, most events are said to be occurring at the beginning and by so doing, preceding those that are happening in the middle and at the end of the story. The linear temporal sequence is a convention that employs an internally coherent system of signs. According to Bakhtin (1981), temporal accounts are more like chronotopes, that is literary conventions governing space-time relationships, or rather as he puts it, "the ground essential for the... representability of events" (p. 250).

(iv) Stability of identity

In a well-structured story, the characters should possess a continuous and coherent identity at all times. For example, one can never be a villain at one instance and a hero in the next one. The common expectation is that the character will retain its identity or function within the story especially after it has been defined by the storyteller. There are exceptions of course, whereby an attempt to explain the change is intended such as one moving from rags to riches, and when the causal forces such as war, poverty and education are introduced as bringing change in an individual.

(v) Causal linkages

The ideal narrative is the one that provides an explanation for the outcome, that is an explanation is achieved by selecting events that are by common standards causally linked in which each event is a product of that which has preceded it. For example, "There was too much drought and as a result we decided to sell our livestock." Further, what is included within the acceptable range of causal forms is historically and culturally independent. Thus, when events within a narrative are related in an interdependent fashion, the outcome approximates the well-formed story.

(vi) Demarcation signs

Well-formed stories mostly employ signals to indicate the beginning and the end of a story. Young (1982) proposed that a narrative is framed by various rule-governed devices that indicate when one is entering the story world such as saying "once upon a time", "Did you know that...", or "Let me fill you in with all the details...", and all these, sort of provide a signal to the listener/s that a story is about to start. Endings also have own signals as in phrases such as "Now you understand why...", "That's how it happened", "that's it". Laughter at the end of a joke may also indicate the end of the story.

5.1.4 Varieties of Narrative Form

In an attempt to develop a formal vocabulary of plot, Frye (1957) proposed four basic forms of narrative based on the human experience of nature and the evolution of the seasons. Blossoming of spring is perceived as giving rise to comedy which involves a challenge or threat that is later overcome to yield social harmony. Summer with its calmness and freedom inspires romance as a dramatic form. Romance therefore consists of a series of episodes in which the protagonists experience challenges or threats and through a series of struggles emerges victorious. Its harmonious ending is similar to that of comedy. Autumn's contrast between summer and the oncoming winter symbolises tragedy. Our awareness of unrealised expectations and the failure of our dreams associated with winter, give birth to the satire which becomes the relevant expressive form.

There is another approach different from Frye's four master narratives called the "monomyth" which is rooted in the unconscious psychodynamics, and that concerns a hero who has been able to overcome personal and historical limitations to reach a transcendent understanding of the human condition. What should always be remembered is that narrative forms as the criteria for story-telling, are subject to shifting conventions whereby you find that certain modalities are favoured over others in various historical periods. This brings us to three proposed rudimentary forms of narrative:

(i) The stability narrative

It links events so that the individual's trajectory remains essentially unchanged in relation to a goal or outcome, that is, life just goes on- whether for better or for worse. The stability narrative could be developed at any level along the evaluative continuum. For example, if an individual initially eludes that "I am still as beautiful as I used to be when I was a kid", then she or he might conclude that he or she'll continue being beautiful for a very long time whereas if a person concludes that "I am so unlucky when it comes to love-life", then this person's feelings of being unfortunate with love will continue haunting her or him regardless of the circumstances.

(ii) The progressive narrative

It links events together so that the movement along the evaluative dimension over time is incremental and by so doing making the account of life much better in every respect.

(iii) The regressive narrative

Unlike the progressive narrative, its movement is decremental in nature. It also depicts a continued downward movement, anticipating further decrements.

All these, provide a direction of movement in evaluative space. There are other prominent narrative forms in contemporary culture, and they are:

(iv) Tragic narrative

This narrative tells the story of the rapid downfall of one who has achieved high position in the community or any other sphere of life like our own Tony Yengeni. This is more in the lines of a progressive narrative being followed by a rapid regressive narrative.

(v) Comedy-romance narrative

Here life events become so increasingly problematic until such time that happiness is restored to the major protagonist, moving from the regressive narrative to progressive narrative scale.

(vi) Happily-ever-after narrative

This is whereby a progressive narrative is followed by a stability narrative, that is when things start on a smooth level and continue getting better and better.

(vii) The heroic saga

Heroic saga is a movement in which an individual characterizes his or her past as a continuous array of battles against powers of darkness, more like a repertoire of series of progressive-regressive phases.

5.1.5 Narrative Form and the Generation of Drama

Moments of high drama are often those that crystalize our sense of identity, as Nietzsche once said: "Live dangerously it is the only time you live at all." According to Scheibe (1986), "people require adventures in order for satisfactory life stories to be constructed and maintained" (p. 131) Similarly, Maslow (1961) argued that it is the major victory, the danger withstood, the return of a lost love, etc. that provide us with our most acute sense of self. The capacity of an event to produce a sense of drama is largely a function of its place within a narrative, that is, it is the relationship among events and not the events themselves. To generate a sense of dramatic engagement, the following characteristics are necessary:

- i) The decline of events is far less in the regressive narrative than it is the case in the tragic narrative because the regressive narrative is characterized by a moderate decline of events over a period of time, whereas with the tragic narrative the decline is precipitous. Thus, this rapid decline of events is an integral aspect of their dramatic impact and by so doing making the rapid acceleration or deceleration of the narrative scale one of the most important aspects of a dramatic engagement.
- ii) A second characteristic of the dramatic engagement is the contrast between the regressive and the tragic narratives because the regressive narrative's scale direction of events does not change over time as it is the case with the tragic narrative which is characterised by an array of closely interspersed ups and downs in the character's or individual's life. With tragic narrative, events go very smoothly in the beginning to be followed by tragic turn of events, changing or shifting the evaluative relationship of events of the story. This sudden change or alteration in the narrative scale is what constitutes the second component of the dramatic engagement.
- iii) Another component of dramatic engagement is the suspense and danger usually experienced during the mystery story, that sense of being tense, not knowing what's next as it was the case in the movie "The Mummy" and mostly with the horror movies, "Scary Movie I, II, & III", and others. The difference between this component and two previous ones is that this doesn't have anything to do with the change of the slope of the narrative or that of the story line, although it is affected by the acceleration or deceleration of the events, or the shift in the evaluation direction. Both the tragic and the regressive narratives have a major impact on the valued goal or the endpoint in the narrative sequence, or rather the stability of the sequence.

5.1.6 Narrative Form in two Populations: An Application

In order to maintain intelligibility in the culture of story telling, one must employ the rules that are commonly accepted in the narrative construction because they offer a range of discursive resources for the social construction of the self and as such if these forms are not properly applied they may constrain the forms of self-narrative. For example, an individual who presents self through the stability narrative, more in the lines of a monotonous and non-goal-oriented life may be regarded as somehow psychogenic whereas the one who presents own life as a struggle between being a villain to becoming

a hero of some kind- rising above it all or the other way round, is somehow dealt with very suspiciously in most cases. But, an individual who admits defeats from time to time and become victorious at the end, his or her story is intelligible enough to be easily believed by the audience.

These dynamics also do apply in the contexts of age difference and how different age groups perceive life in general. According to the research done by Gergen and Gergen (1988) on young adults and the elderly, they discovered that the adolescents viewed their lives to be absolute fun during childhood, to be followed by a lot of hardships at the adolescent stage though they managed to emerge victorious from it. The way in which the young adults described their life experiences could be seen as the comedy-romance narrative and carefully selected just to serve the purpose. The elderly on the other hand described their youth days as the most difficult part of their lives though they also highlight having achieved their goals mostly during the years of fifty and sixty and by so doing employing the progressive narrative. They switched to the regressive narrative when giving account of their golden years because the sun is setting. This latter part of their account is somehow culture-based, that is the role of the social sciences is somehow fostering the view that the life course is a rainbow, so to speak.

5.1.7 Micro, Macro and Multiplicity in Narration

This part deals with the ongoing practices of self-narrative from the structure to the process and considering the multiplicity of the narrative and its by-products is therefore the most crucial aspect of the forms of intelligibility.

To a certain extent, this realization also questions the general perception that a person's core existence or worthiness in terms of social intelligibility is centred around the sense of core identity regarding the direction that person's life takes, or his or her sense of position or place (status).

Another important fact to acknowledge is that even though each person possesses a life story, there are various stories told- using all the available forms of narratives from the rudimentary to the most complex forms. The use of these forms helps a lot in the development and maintenance of the relationships in our life experiences. Therefore, effective socialization should equip us to interpret our lives as stable, improving or as in

decline. Thus, maintaining effective relationship is influenced by our ability to construct and reconstruct our self- narrative.

There are no temporal parameters within which a personal narrative must, should or could be constructed irrespective of all the available narratives as discussed above. Stories told vary from fictional, non-fictional, recent and brief to those bearing a historical background or messages. Terms such as micro and macro are then used to refer to the hypothesized and idealized ends of temporal continuum. Micro-narratives then refer to events of brief duration whereas macro-narratives relate to accounts that take place over quite a broader period of time. The latter is mostly used by auto-biographers as they are basically trying to campaign for their readers' understanding of their actions as allegedly based on the information of their historical background, and micro-narratives on the other hand are mostly relevant to comedians, as they strive for removing themselves away from the dynamics of history.

Narratives may also be nested together, that is an individual may give an account as a bearer of a long cultural history and as an independent account of his or her development from childhood and at the same time highlighting a change of heart which was experienced some time ago. Considering the South African history as an example, most Afrikaners have been manifesting their unwavering support for the then oppressed and marginalized peoples of South Africa, and vouching themselves as the pioneers of a free, fair and democratic South Africa. They also claim that back in their childhood and youth days, they did things according to what was prescribed to them by their elders, that they called black people in particular names and did terrible things to them because they thought that that was in order. And now that they are older, mature and wiser, they realise how horrible that was and they are dedicated in redressing that and sort of cleanse themselves of their "sins" and those of their forefathers. To mention just few, Mr F. W. De Klerk to this effect when he became the South African president he decided to unban the African National Congress (the people's organisation), Umkhonto Wesizwe (the people's liberation movement) and all the political prisoners and this was his genuine gesture towards a true democracy for all. Mr Martinus Van Schalkwyk the president of the New National Party, which was basically for white South African people joined the ANC and campaigned to all other white people to join the ANC as he believed that it was the only democratic movement for all the peoples of South Africa. On top of that, he took his son to the grave of Hector Peterson who was killed by the apartheid government's law-

enforcement police during the students' uprising in 1976. This he did as his way of trying to make up for the "sins" of his forefathers and doesn't want to see the same mistakes happening again, hence educating the "white" youth of today about it.

The coherence of nested narratives can be anticipated to a certain level. For example, macro-narratives provide a foundation upon which to construct other narratives and as such people with an extended sense of their history may strive for more coherence between one narrative and the other unlike those with superficial sense of the past. Also, people from a newly developing culture or nation may experience a greater sense of freedom in momentary action more than those that are from cultures or nations with a long and prominent historical background or narratives.

5.1.8 The Pragmatics of Self-Narration

According to Wittgenstein (1953), narrative constructions are basically linguistic tools with very important social functions. Knowledge and proper use of the various forms of narratives enriches each person's relatedness capacity. Thus, self-narration has some functions to satisfactorily fulfil:

(i) Self-narration has to fulfil the stability narrative because stabilization enables us to speak of cultural patterns, institutions and individual identities. To negotiate social life in a more successful way or manner, one has to prove him or herself more intelligible as an enduring, integral and coherent identity.

Showing self as a committed, honest, strong-willed or enduring, morally stable or intact and unwavering at all times is done through the stability narrative. All these are therefore the end-results of the relationship itself and not the building equipment of a relationship. Thus, to be what you are or who you are, is actually a social achievement and as such it requires continual conversational attention. In contrary to this, McAdams (1985) argues, "Identity is a life story which individuals begin constructing, consciously and unconsciously in late adolescent... Like stories, identities may assume a 'good' form- a narrative coherence and consistency- or they may be ill-formed- like the story of the fox and the bear with its cul-de-sacs and loose ends" (p. 57).

In sum, there is basically no inherent demand for identity coherence and stability, and people may present themselves in various ways depending on the relational context to acquire a valuable potential of communicating and performing a true self.

(ii) The progressive narrative also serves some social functions such as the value of change and social stability. Thus, traits such as the career selection, hardship endurance and personal resources as well as sacrifices made, are perceived as participation towards the social positive change along the lines of a great progressive narrative. Kitwood (1980) contends that people make special use of the progressive narrative in the early stages of a relationship, basically to invent the relationship with increased value and promise for the future, and this is mainly the reason why most people opt for discarding and changing their old ways just to make their relationships work or a success.

(iii) Regressive narratives also do perform social functions by soliciting attention, sympathy, intimacy, pity and concern, offer excuse from failure and also deliver punishment when and where necessary.

This is not the only purpose served by regressive narratives, compensatory function is also a social trait of these narratives. For example, people may seek improvement or a challenge to compensate or to counteract the declining condition either by means of renewed vigour or an intensified effort to turn the clock backwards or around from a potential tragedy into a comedy-romance form. In sum, the regressive narrative operates more as a means of motivating people into doing their utmost best.

5.1.9 The Interknitting of Identities

This part kicks off with the basis of developing a narration as a discursive resource, its richness and potentials as constituting a historical legacy within each culture, that is in order to have an intelligible self which is recognizable at all times, one then borrows from the cultural archives. Narration is not only monologic but it is much influenced by dialogue through the processes of an ongoing interchange. There are therefore quite a number of ways in which narrated identities are interwoven within the culture and they are: self-narration and moral community, interminable negotiation, and reciprocal identities.

The ongoing interchange within the self-narrative sets a centre-stage for moral evaluation. Self-narrative can be a derivative of past encounters within ongoing relationships, and they

also establish reputations or a community of reputations that form the core for moral tradition, and this is what makes self-narratives a tool of securing relational future.

Self-narratives carry along with them an element of interdependency in that there is a constant relationship between our actions and our accounts of those actions depending on social conventions, social conventions which are not univocal. There is also a concern of actions measuring up to their expectations because of the inherent ambiguity through which actions are understood. In effect, in order to sustain identity, successful negotiation is required at all times, hence maintaining an identity is an interminable challenge.

The incidents woven into a narrative are the actions of the protagonist and also those of others and as such, in most cases the actions of others contribute vitally to the events linked in narrative sequence. This view has its implications that: if an individual demands a right to self-definition, then others also have the same right to define their own actions. For example, if a person claims that "I never asked for money from him, he just kept on giving it me. I thought he was just being kind", then the other person has the right to argue his or her point- maybe that "I got the impression from him that if I really want to get tenders I must do something, so I gave him money- but seemingly it was never enough". But, if the other can really prove that a bribe was required from him or her then the actor cannot really boast about the incident as part of his or her success story. Thus, the narrative's validity depends on the affirmation of others. An actor's success in sustaining a particular self-narrative is basically dependent on the willingness of others to play out certain parts/ roles in relationship to him or her. This therefore proves that there is interdependence of constructed narratives and by so doing suggesting that the network of reciprocating identities is a crucial element or aspect of social life. Why, because one's identity can be maintained as long as others are willing to play their supporting roles, and because one is also required to play supporting roles in others' constructions and the moment any participant chooses to renege, then she or he threatens the whole array of interdependent constructions.

5.2 EMOTION AS RELATIONSHIP

According to Gergen (1994), self-narratives are social processes in which individuals are realized on the personal perspective or experience and as a result their emotions are viewed as constitutive features of relationships.

The discourse of the self has been studied and researched upon over centuries by scholars such as Plato with his concept of abstract ideas or prototypes; Aristotle through his concept of logical forms or cognitive heuristics; Machiavelli's conception of social strategy or impression management; Augustine, Hobbes and Pascal with their concept of self love or self-esteem; and Locke's conception of empirical basis of abstract ideas or mental representation; and many more others.

Theories of the self are actually definitions of what is to be human on the basis of what the individual can or cannot do, and what limits can be put on the individual's capacity to function as well as hopes that can be nurtured for future change. In effect, conceptions of the self play a massive role in human affairs in that psychologists are able to inform the public that the mind of a single person is so vital to the cultural well-being, through pledges of the insanity defence, the concept of self-esteem and measures of intelligence and personal traits which contribute immensely to a humane society. For example, anthropologists inform the public about the personalities, subjectivities and mentalities of other cultural groups; historians avail information about values and motives of other times and political scientists provide information about the attitudes and opinions of the populations.

The belief of the self-contained individual has resulted in giving the self much priority in daily affairs by putting more emphasis on individual's private life such as own goals, pleasures and rights. This commitment to the self is what Darwin refers to as the species survival: "How do I gain or lose?"

This ideology of individualism somehow generates a sense of a fundamental independence and isolation to an extent that a self-contained individual can never be sure that she or he is understood or that she or he understands the mind, the thoughts, needs and feelings of others and as a result she or he is restrained from investing too much in others' lives. As a result, if this particular individual decides to give a communal or collective well-being a try and discover that the efforts are somewhat personally arduous or disagreeable, s/he finds it very easy to return back to the original state of isolation. In his book "The Fall of Public Man", Sennett (1977) contends that individualist preoccupation and concomitant fear of sincerity and self-revelation militate against the kind of public life

in which people mingle freely on the streets, in parks or at public gatherings and speak with civil constraint without embarrassment and with a sense of the common good.

To the concern of whether this individualistic ideology can be able to guide us into the future, McIntyre (1981) argues that an individual has the right to choose what she or he believes is good and right, and not based on what others' good reasons as this constitutes frustrations and interference or rather invasion of one's privacy. But, this individualism is also promoting conflict among incommensurable moral and ideological commitments, and poses danger to the culture of cooperation.

5.2.1 In Search of Emotion: from Individual to Relationship

Emotions are figured as events within relational patterns, also as social actions that derive their meaning and significance from their placement within rituals of relationship. It is therefore very crucial to establish that emotions exist and that they are of several different kinds.

There are therefore two major convictions to the question of identification, the first one being the humanistic, phenomenological and subjectively oriented personal emotions and experience. Human emotions portray the existence of human experience which helps us in identifying and differentiating among the emotions such as love, fear, anger, etc. But, this poses a lot of confusion as it is difficult to differentiate between the interior and the exterior objects, the emotion and the experience and we cannot explicitly differentiate the two. At the same time, the claim that personal experience could be viewed as a basis for identifying emotions is rather a debatable issue and instead, the dispassionate observations of ongoing behaviour could be used, which are the observable manifestations of emotions.

Secondly, emotional discourse does not gain its meaning by the virtue of its relationship with the inner world of experience, disposition and biology, but by the way it figures in the patterns of cultural relationship meaning, certain actions are viewed as emotions. Therefore, properly performing an emotion so that the actions are identifiable with cultural standards requires substantial biological contribution. This proves then that emotions do not have an impact on social life instead they constitute social life itself.

Emotions can be placed along the lines of broader networks of cultural meaning as they cannot be extricated from the field of moral evaluation and as such, more often than not people are being blamed for feeling jealous or envious, angry, afraid and for their sadness. For this reason, De Rivera (1984) argues that one can scarcely be blamed for one's heart rate, vaginal secretions, praised for one's digestive processes or physical arousal, and to do that would only be reducing one into an automaton status, something that looks like a person but not really and truly human.

Anthropological and historical enquiry suggests that emotional expressions often vary from one culture to the other and also according to the historical period/ era. For example, in most African cultures there is what is called black magic (witchcraft whereby certain people see things and act on them) could be labelled as bizarre patterns and unique forms of performance by other cultures. Thus, the vocabulary of the emotions is subject to the historical creation and erosion and as such nowadays we easily extemporize on our feelings of burnout, our anxiety, stress and depression.

With all this information in mind, it is therefore very crucial to realize the ways in which emotional performances are circumscribed by or embedded within the broader patterns of relationship. As a result, if these emotional performances were to be cut away from ongoing relationships they would either not occur or be nonsensical. Therefore, to achieve intelligibility, emotional performance must be a recognizable component of an ongoing chain of actions meaning that emotional performances should be viewed as constituents of larger and more extended patterns of interaction.

Narratives are forms of intelligibility that furnish accounts of events across time, that is actions gain their significance from the way in which they are embedded within the narrative. In effect, emotional expressions are meaningful and count as legitimate emotions when they are inserted into particular cross-time sequences of interchange, that is when they are constituents of lived narratives preceded by certain conditions. For example, feelings of anger toward the other are normally aggravated by the other's actions and the other should offer an apology or an explanation as to why these feelings of anger are unwarranted. These patterns are then viewed as emotional scenarios or patterns of an interchange. Thus, emotional experience is an individual's possession because she or he is the performer of an act within the broader relational scenario which is the fundamental creation of a given relationship and that of a cultural history.

5.2.2. Emotional Scenarios: The Case of Escalating Hostility

In this study the acts of hostility are viewed as modes of cultural performance basically doing the right thing at the right time. It is also suggested that we should consider the role these actions play in broader scenarios of interchange instead of seeing them as individual actions. According to his research on ex-criminal offenders and mental patients, Felson (1984) discovered that violent actions were not spontaneous, uncontrollable eruptions triggered by an immediate stimulus, but a response to a violated social rule or norm, a verbal exchange of an offensive behaviour such as being rudely reproached or blamed, and when the accountee having failed to stop the reproacher from continuing with the undesirable act of being "provoked" so to say, resorted to violence.

Violence is then viewed as an expression of hostile feelings and there is a very thin line between intimacy and violence as result there are frequent unwanted repetitive patterns of these two emotions in the real world. In the case of domestic violence which is the common norm in most households in the country, is the typical example. An unruly teenager would constantly do things which would make the parents punish her or him and it's not that both parties like this situation but there is nothing that can be done about it as a result the situation of physical violence seems appropriate.

People are caught up in relational patterns leading to violence in many ways and most of these are culture bound. Firstly, the imperative of reciprocity whereby there is that moral obligation of returning actions in kind, that is to respond to kindness with kindness and to reciprocate hostility with hostility. As a result if one reciprocate kindness with hostility that is regarded as shame whereas a kind response towards hostility is awarded with lot of admiration and the latter response is what is called retribution. Therefore, in behaviours with the transformative option an individual may be able to generate alternatives to the existing patterns of action that is if an individual feels uncomfortable with the traditional scenario of logical sequences of hostility could opt for more positive patterns.

5.2.3. Emotional Scenario: Expanding the Spectrum

According to this study, a given emotional expression might be embedded in a variety of common sequences or scenarios. For example, anger could be an intelligible reaction to circumstances such as disappointment, frustration or attack and there could be other

multiple scenarios of which the emotion is an integral part. There are differences then between effective or desirable scenarios and those that are ineffectual or the failing ones. Therefore, by using open-ended procedures we may be sensitised to various primary ways of avoiding undesirable repetitive patterns as violence, and these valuable sequences can be drawn from our cultures.

It is very important to remain intelligible by cultural standards and to do that which would entail enquiring about a cause or the source if a person, be it a friend, a colleague or a family member voices out an emotion such as being angry, happy or confused (depressed). This enquiry serves only not the cultural formality, but also enables the actor to establish the grounds for the ensuing scenario whereby the other would have to supply antecedents that would render his or her emotional expression more appropriate. With this information at his or her disposal, the recipient is then able to respond in an appropriate manner to the other's emotional experience/ expression.

The expression of anger and the resulting inquiry into its reason and the explanation for the anger could generate three major options:

- (i) Remorse is the most common reaction whereby the listener apologises for his or her part in the existence of the emotion ("I'm so sorry for disappointing and hurting you")
- (ii) Reframing is the second most common option in which the listener attempts to redefine the precipitating event in such a way that anger is no longer appropriate through either a plea of ignorance about the questionable behaviour ("I didn't know that you wanted our affair to go public"), or by claiming positive intent ("I thought I was protecting you by keeping our affair discreet, within our immediate friends and families because I know the media deals with situations like these. I didn't want to put you through all that");
- (iii) The third frequent reaction is anger ("Why make such a big deal out of this? I am not going to stay here to be interrogated, I am leaving") is likely to make matters worse resulting in the escalation of hostility.

Whereas if remorse is expressed, it sort of terminates the narrative, and this is usually followed by compassion whereby the other feels that ("It's okay. I understand your concerns and it's for my own good") or by caution that ("It's fine so long as you don't do it

again"), and both these replies are capable of bringing the narrative to an end particularly compassionately.

In the case of confusion or rather depression, there are also three kinds of most common responses or options:

- (i) Reframing ("Come on, it is not as bad as you say or think"),
- (ii) Advice ("If you could just try, I know you could change your attitude and understand the situation") and
- (iii) Commiseration ("I can relate to your feelings").

An advice has proved not to be such an effective move to expressions of depression as it is likely to precipitate anger from the part of the emotional performer. Commiseration though capable of ending the narrative, it might also result in more intense feelings of depression, and at this point reframing seems to be the only option capable of successfully leading the narrative to an end.

As for the expression of happiness,

- (i) Empathy is the most popular response/ reaction as it works out for almost everybody, that "It makes me happy too" kind of a situation.
- (ii) Confirmation is the second popular reaction, ("Oh! Those are wonderful news, you deserve that").

Both empathy and confirmation sort of call/ invite another expression of happiness from the emotional performer and by so doing bringing the narrative to its final end. There is another option/ reaction to the other's expression of happiness and that is

- (iii) Jealousy, an expression which is accompanied by an array of possible reactions such as guilt, anger and hurt within the actor, and this could lead to even more iterations.

These illustrative explorations suggest that:

1. Conversational markers or rather opening cues are required in order for participants to coordinate their actions within a single scenario.
2. Once a scenario is underway, there are multiple options for transformation; any particular fragment or sequence of fragments may be used within more than one intelligible scenario. The opening of a scenario does not necessarily dictate either its subsequent form or its termination. At the same time, this latitude is not infinite, cultural tradition vastly truncates the possibilities for intelligible action.

3. Emotional scenarios almost invariably conclude with the expression of neutral to happy sentiments. It appears to be difficult in contemporary culture to complete a scenario with a performance of anger, jealousy, depression, fear or anything like that.
4. Scenarios commencing with a positive emotional performance appear to be less extended than those in which a negative emotion is focus. Given the difficulty of concluding a scenario with a negative emotion is either an indication of another problem or a contemporary cultural problem to be solved. Thus, the typical scenario involving a negative emotion approximates the comedy or romance narrative.

As it has been highlighted earlier, emotional performances approximate forms of cultural or historical erosion and accretion as a result emotional problems emanate from poor skills or poor training in the common scenarios of the culture, and also from the inability to locate alternatives to those scenarios that propel/ steer relationships toward disaster. It is therefore very important to acknowledge the broader relational patterns in which emotional scenarios are embedded.

Analysis no.1.**The Narrative of Traumatic Childhood and Abuse in isiXhosa**

Ndikhule ndingamazi kakuhle umama wam okanye abona bazali bam njengoko ndathi ndakhuliswa ngabazali bakamama wam. Ndineenkumbulwana nje ezingephi zale mbelukazi intle kunene nesoloko inxibe iimpahla ezintle ikwanomfaneleko kananjalo ebisoloko ifika ekhaya iphethe izimuncumuncu kunye neempahla ezintle, nam ibindiphathela ngokunjalo. Abanye abantu ke babedla ngokuthi ngumama wam nangona sasingenabuhlobo bubhekele phi mna naye, kwaye ke ndandisojika nokusondela kuye hleze ndimngcolise yena neempahla zakhe ezintle kunene.

Iminyaka ikhawulezile ukuhamba kungekho budlelwane phakathi kwam nalo ufanele ukuba abe ngumama wam. Besele ndiqabukile ke noko kwaye ndikunqwenela ukuba nobuhlobo naye, ndifane naye ndenze izinto kunye naye nanjengoko abanye abantwana abandingqongileyo babesenza noomama babo, kodwa oko akuzange kwenzeke. Ndahamba ndade ndanikezela ndalahla nelo themba ingakumbi emva kokuba ethe waba nomnye umntwana, mntwana lowo angazange ohlukane naye. Ebunyanisweni le nto yandenzela umona kakhulu ndinqwena kananjalo ukuba ngase ibe ndim lo ukweso sikhundla okanye onaloo nyhweba. Lo mntwana uthe wafumana yonke into endandiyinqwenela ebomini, endandingakwazi ukuyifumana kwaye ke kungabonakali ngathi imeko le endandikuyo ingatshintsha okanye iya kuze itshintshe. Umakhulu notatomkhulu wam bandenzela konke ababenakho ukundenzela, bandinika lonke uthando ngokohlobo ababesazi ngcono ngalo.

Izinto zaba mbi ngeyona ndlela isisimanga emva kokusweleka kukamakhulu wam. Ngomzuzwana nje, ndaba lilolo elizweni nasemhlabeni, ndingenabani kwabe kufanele ukuba ndizikhathalele ngokunokwam, ndimncinane ndingazi nto ngobomi ndinjalo. Ndandilindele ukuba elaa nenekazi, "laa mbelukazi" iza kuza kundithatha. Isizathu esasindenza ndicinge ngolo hlobo ndandingenaso kodwa ke ndandinalo elo themba. Oko akuzange kwenzeke. Andizange ndonele nje ekubeni lilolo, ndingazi ngemandikwenze okanye umntu emandibalekele kuye, ndandiye ndidinge nkqu nokutya oku endlini, ukutya okuya egazini okufana noko bendikutya ngexa umakhulu wam ebesaphila. Ndandiswela ndiswele nempahla le ifanelekileyo yesikolo ingakumbi izihlangu, ingekuko ukuba utatomkhulu wam wayengenakuzithenga kuloko wayesithi umama uyaphila kwaye

akangekhe ohlulwe kukundithengela nokundenzela nayo nantoni na endiyifunayo. Ndazibhaqa sele ndiyimbedlenge nje ngomzuzwana kangangokuba kwade kwangenelela isizalwane esasingakwazi ukuyinyamezela loo meko ndandikuyo. Sandithengela izihlangu ezifanelekileyo zesikolo, wagqithisa ngokuthi ngazo zonke iintsuku zesikolo andilungiselele umphako wokuba nditye esikolweni, ndifane nabanye abantwana. Wandenza umntu ebantwini kwaye andisokuze ndimlibale ubomi bam bonke.

Uqhubekile ukuvuleka umsantsa phakathi kwethu imihla nezolo, zenzeka izinto kodwa akazange azikhathaze ngokuthi ahlale phantsi nam andicacisele ngokwenzekayo, kwaba ngathi uthi mandizibonele. Asizange sibe nayo incoko efundisayo neyakhayo njengoko umama nentombi besenza okanye befanele ukwenza. Ukusuka apho ubevele nje andinyhukule okanye athethe nam xa efuna ukungxola, nalapho angazikhathazi okanye azihluphe ngokufuna ukuva kuqala kum ukuba ndithini na ngoko andingxolisela kona, ukuba uve into uvele akholelwe ukuba iyinene loo nto. Ndahamba ndaphela ndivakalelwa kukuba ndisisibhidi ebomini bakhe, kwaye akukho nto intle inokuza nam. Into eyayimbi kuyo yonke le nto kukuba ndandingenaye nomntu lo endandinokuthetha naye, ndizityand'ingila kuye okanye ndifun'iingcebiso kuye. Ndandingazazi nokuba kanye-kanye apho ndinxulunyaniswa khona kuphi na, ndandifana nje nemvu elahlekileyo.

Izinto zaya zisiba mandundu ngakumbi. Ndathi xa ndiqala ukuxelenga ndazama kangangoko ndinako ukwenza izinto eziza kumonelisa okanye endandicinga ukuba ziza kumonelisa umama wam, kangangokuba mna ndandiye ndizibeke kwimeko apho ndandide ndincame ezam izinto. Ndafumanisa ekuhambeni kwexesha ukuba ezi zinto ndandingazenzeli nje ukumonelisa kuloko kwakufana nje nokuthenga indawo entliziyweni nasebomini bakhe nokuba incinci kangakanani na, oku nje kokuba kuthiwe nam ndiyinxalenye yobomi bakhe. Lonke olo xanduva aluzange lundizele nanto incomekayo, ukusuka apho ndandisoloko ndinodandatheko nonxunguphalo olumandla, ndiziva ndizicaphukela nangona ndandingasazi ncam isizathu soko. Ndandiye ke ndizifumane ndisenza izizathwana ezazinokuba ngoyena nobangela wokuba ubudlelwane bungabikho phakathi kwethu, nangona ubukhulu becala ndandiye ndizibeke ubutyala mna. Andizange ndiphele mandla kwiinzame zam zokwakha ubuhlobo naye kunye nodadewethu omncinci, ezam iimvakalelo neminqweno ndandingayise so kangako okoko nje ndiza konelisa bona. Yayingekuko ke nokuba babendicela ukuba ndibenzele izinto kuba babenayo yonke into abayifunayo nabayidingayo, kuloko nje ndandinethemba lokuba ekugqibeleni baya kude bandamkele kubomi babo obuntofo-ntofo, nam ndibe yinxalenye yabo. Ndandiye ke

ndibathengele wena zimpahla, nditshintshe impahla yendlu ndinike umama imali inyanga nenyanga oku komvuzo, ndigoduka rhoqo. Kodwa yonke loo nkxamleko ayizange indenzele nto, ingazange iyitshintshe nemeko kananjalo, ukusuka apho ndaba neemvakalelo zokuba ndisisiphazamisi nje oku kwesibhidi emanzini acocekileyo.

Ekuhambeni kwexesha ndiye ndakruquka noko yile meko ndiphila phantsi kwayo kangangokuba kwathi ngenye imini endandiphindela ngayo emsebenzini emva kweeholide, kukwakho okunye ukungaboni ngasonye, ndathi kumama, " Ndiyathemba ukuba uya kububona ubungozi bale nto uyenzayo kum kusekwalithuba". Le ntetho yam yaba nokungamzinzisi ngandlela ithile, kwaye ke ndiqinisekile ukuba yiyo nale eyazisa utshintsho lwentliziyo kuye, kuba kaloku ngoku ungumzali nomama lo ekwakukudala ndimlangazelela ebomini bam. Nangona ndingetsho ukuba sekukamva okanye ndithi seliphelile ixesha lokuba mna naye sibe nobuhlobo obububo bukamama nentombi, maxa wambi ndiye ndikufumanise oku kukhathala kungakanana anako nakubonisayo ngoku kum kunokundixina okuthile kuba kaloku andiqhelanga. Mvanje, ungumama okhathala kakhulu ngokwenzekayo ebomini bam, usoloko efuna ukwazi kwaye usoloko eyazi into amakayithethe nendlela amakayithethe ngayo ukundenza ndivakalelwe ngcono ingakumbi xa kukho into endikhubileyo nendikhathazileyo. Nam ndiyazama kwelam icala ukumenza inxalenye yobomi bam nokuziqhelanisa notshintsho lwabumini olukhoyo phakathi kwethu. Ekugqibeleni ndingatsho ndithi, ewe sinabo obuya budlelwane endandibunqwenela, ubudlelwane phakathi kukamama nentombi yakhe.

I grew up not knowing my mother and/ or my parents that much as I was brought up by my grandparents. I only had a distinct memory of this beautiful, elegant lady who used to arrive at our place, bringing along with her goodies and some nice clothes- even for me. Some people used to refer to her as my mother but we were never close and I was afraid of going to her lest I stain her and her smart clothes.

Time and years went by very fast and there was no relationship between her and me. I so much wanted to be with her, be like her, do things with her like other people and kids around me, but that never happened. I finally lost hope of it ever happening particularly after she had another kid, which never left her side. To be honest, I was a little jealous, maybe very jealous and envious. He had everything I ever wished for and I couldn't have them, and it didn't look like my situation will ever change. My grandparents did all they could for me and gave me all the love I needed, the best way they knew how.

But, things got out of hand in a very terrible way after my grandmother passed away. All of a sudden I was all alone, having to take care of myself, young and very naïve, and for a very strange reason I expected that "the lady" would finally come for me. It never happened. Being alone and lonely, not knowing what to do, who to turn to was not the only thing I had to live with. There was no food in the house, at least not as healthy as when my grandmother was alive; I didn't have proper school clothes, shoes in particular not that my grandfather couldn't afford to buy them. He said that my mother was still alive and should be taking care of me and buying everything I needed because she can afford them and more. All of a sudden I became a charity case. A distant relative couldn't live with the situation anymore, so she bought the school shoes for me and prepared a lunchbox for me every morning, so that I don't look and feel different from other children. I owe her!

We grew apart day-in and day-out. A lot of things happened after that and she never took time to sit down with me to have a mother-daughter talk, in the true sense of the word-mother-daughter relationship. All she could do was to scorn me or talk to me only when to reprimand me not even caring to hear my side of the story. I felt that I was just a nerve to her and that there was nothing good that could ever come out of me. I didn't even have someone to confide to/in, to seek advice from or to run to. I didn't know where I really belonged I was lost.

Things got worse as time went by. When I started working, I would go out of my way sometimes just to please her, but mostly to buy myself a place in her heart and in her life-no matter how small. It never worked. I was always depressed, hating myself for something that I didn't really know, trying to find a reason and excuses for our non-existent relationship. My interests and needs were the last on my list, she and my younger sister were first, not that they asked me to do that but I thought by so doing they will finally make me part of their comfortable and perfect relationship/ life. I would buy them clothes, change the furniture in the house, give my mother money every month and even go home every now and again. But, that too never solved anything; instead I ended up feeling like some kind of an intruder in my own "home".

I got tired ultimately and one day when I was going back to work, after the holidays, I said to her that, "I hope that by the time you realise what you are doing it wouldn't be too late".

That shook her up a little bit and I think it is what brought this massive change of heart in her, because now she seems to be acting more like a mother I needed and longed for back then. Though it is not that late, but I sometimes find her hovering over my life a bit suffocating and intrusive- I am not used to it. She is too concerned about what is happening in my life and she always knows what to say when I am not okay. I am also trying to accommodate her in my life and fill her in on everything that is happening in my life. So I can say that finally, we are having that relationship I so longed for those years-back then.

1. The Structure of the Narrative Account

1.1 Selection of Events in the Account: Plot Structure

This narrative relates to the experiences of a young woman who has gone through very rough and traumatic times in her childhood especially after her grandmother, who has been a mother, to her passed away. There are various events that are connected through this core of being a "lost soul". All these events are organized in an order that gives result to the plot structure of the narrative.

The narrative consists of five events. The first event is concerned with the young woman's childhood experiences of not knowing exactly who her real mother is. The next event is basically about her concern and wondering as to why is she not staying or having a close relationship with her mother. The third and primary event of the narrative basically emanates from her feelings of not being wanted or loved by her so-called mother, especially when the mother she has known all her life has passed away and things were getting tougher and tougher for her. This is actually the time when she felt that she really belonged nowhere and no one wants her or wants to have anything to do with her. The fourth event is when she tries to do everything and anything to get her mother's love and acceptance, but all in vain. The last and the secondary event of the narrative is when finally both the mother and the daughter try to somehow patch things up and gradually develop a relationship, a true and real mother-daughter relationship.

The First Event

In the first event, the narrator gives a flashback of events that led to her upbringing, such as not knowing who her real parents, her mother in particular as she was raised by her grandparents.

Ndineenkumbulwana nje ezingephi zale mbelukazi intle kunene...

(I only had a distinct memory of this beautiful...)

Even though she never saw or felt the importance and the need of being or having a relationship with this beautiful lady then, she only got to realise how much she needed her in her life after the grandmother passed away.

Narrative of the First Event

Ndikhule ndingamazi kakuhle umama wam okanye abona bazali bam njengoko ndathi ndakhuliswa ngabazali bakamama wam. Ndineenkumbulwana nje ezingephi zale mbelukazi intle kunene neyayisoloko inxibe iimpahla ezintle ikwanomfaneleko kananjalo, ebisoloko ifika ekhaya iphethe izimuncumuncu kunye neempahla ezintle, nam ibindiphathela ngokunjalo. Abanye abantu ke babedla ngokuthi ngumama wam nangona sasingenabuhlobo bubhekele phi mna naye, kwaye ke ndandisoyika nokusondela kuye hleze ndimngcolise yena neempahla zakhe ezintle kunene.

(I grew up not knowing my mother and/ or my parents that much as my grandparents brought me up. I only had a distinct memory of this beautiful, elegant lady who used to arrive at our place, bringing along with her goodies and some nice clothes- even for me. Some people used to refer to her as my mother but we were never close and I was afraid of going to her lest I stain her and her smart clothes).

The Second Event

As she grew older, this young lady started envying this woman who was referred to as her mother and she showed a lot of interest in her such as having a relationship with her, dressing like her and being a lady like her. That wish of being with her grew into jealousy and lot of unanswered questions and even more confusion particularly after "the mother" had another baby, which she never parted with. But, that never bothered her that much

because she had all the love from the parents she had always known- her grandmother in particular.

Narrative of the Second Event

Iminyaka ikhawulezile ukuhamba ke kwabe kungekho budlelwane phakathi kwam nalo ufanele ukuba abe ngumama wam. Bendisele ndiqabukile ke noko kwaye ndikunqwenela ukuba nobuhlobo naye, ndifane naye ndenze izinto kunye naye njengoko abanye abantwana abandingqongileyo besenza noomama babo, kodwa oko akuzange kwenzeke. Ndahamba ndade ndanikezela ke ndalahla nelo themba ingakumbi emva kokuba ethe waba nomnye umntwana, mntwana lowo ongazange ohlukane naye. Ebunyanisweni, le nto yandenzela umona kakhulu ndinqwena kananjalo ukuba kungase kube ndim lowo ukwesokhondla okanye onaloo nyhweba. Lo mntwana uthe wafumana yonke into endandiyinqwenela ebomini endandingakwazi ukuyifumana kwaye ke kungabonakali ngathi imeko le endandikuyo ingatshintsha okanye iya kuze itshintshe. Umakhulu notatomkhulu wam bandenzela konke ababenakho ukundenzela kona, bandinika lonke uthando ngokohlobo ababesazi ngcono ngalo.

(Time and years went by very fast and there was no relationship between her and me. I so much wanted to be with her, be like her, do things with her like other people and kids around me, but that never happened. I finally lost hope of it ever happening particularly after she had another kid, which never left her side. To be honest, I was a little jealous, maybe very jealous and envious. He had everything I ever wished for and I couldn't have them, and it didn't look like my situation will ever change. My grandparents did all they could for me and gave me all the love I needed, the best way they knew how).

The Third Event

In this event, this young lady is overwhelmed with feelings of unworthiness, has lost the sense of belonging and she goes through deep depression. Somehow she feels that the whole world has turned against her and doesn't know what to do and where or who to turn especially now that it is obvious that this "mother" of hers doesn't want anything to do with her. This is actually the climax of her life. This could also be seen as the test of her strength, perseverance and her will to survive. In this event, this young lady has proven herself to be a very strong-willed person, as young as she was.

Narrative of the Third Event

Izinto zaba mbi ngendlela esisimanga emva kokusweleka kukamakhulu wam. Ngomzuzwana nje ndaba lilolo elizweni nasemhlabeni, ndingenabani kufanele ndizikhathalele ngokunokwam, ndimncinane ndingazi nto ngobomi. Ndandilindele ukuba elaa nenekazi, "laa mbelukazi" iza kuzondithatha. Isizathu esasindenza ndicinge ngolo hlobo ndandingenaso kodwa ke ndandinelo themba. Oko akuzange kwenzeke. Andizange ndonele nje ekubeni lilolo, ndingazi ngemandikwenze nomntu emandibalekele kuye, ndandiye ndidinge nkqu nokutya oku endlini, ukutya okuya egazini njengoko bendikutya ngexa umakhulu wam ebesaphila; ndandiswela ndiswele nempahla efanelekileyo yesikolo ingakumbi izihlangu, ingekuko ukuba utatomkhulu wam wayengenakuzithenga ntokunayo naye wayesithi umama uyaphila kwaye akangeke ohlulwe kukundithengela nokundenzela nayo nantoni na endiyifunayo.

Ndazibhaqa sele ndiyimbedlenge nje ngomzuzwana kangangokuba kwade kwangenelela isizalwane esasingakwazi ukuyinyamezela loo meko ndandikuyo. Sandithengela izihlangu ezifanelekileyo zesikolo, wagqithisa ngokuthi ngazo zonke iintsuku zesikolo andilungiselele umphako woba nditye esikolweni, ndifane nabanye abantwana. Wandenza umntu ebantwini kwaye andisokuze ndimlibale ubomi bam bonke.

Uqhubekile ukuvuleka umsantsa phakathi kwethu imihla nezolo, zenzeka izinto kodwa akazange azidine ngokuthi ahlale phantsi nam andicacisele ngokwenzekayo, kwaba ngathi uthi mandizibonele. Asizange sibe nayo incoko efundisayo neyakhayo njengoko umama nentombi besenza okanye befanele ukwenza. Ukusuka apho ubevele nje andinyhukule okanye athethe nam xa efuna ukungxola, nalapho angazikhathazi ngokufuna ukuva kum ukuba ndithini na ngoko andingxolisela kona, ukuba uve into ubevele akholelwe ukuba iyinene loo nto. Ndahamba ndaphela ndivakalelwa kukuba ndisisibhidi ebomini bakhe, kwaye akukho nto intle eyayinokuza nam. Into eyayimbi kuyo yonke le nto kukuba ndandingenaye nomntu lo endandinokuthetha naye, ndizityand'ingila kuye okanye ndifun'iingcebiso kuye. Ndandingazazi nokuba kanye-kanye ndingowaphi na ndisoyanyaniswa nabani na kanye-kanye, ndandifana nje nemvu elahlekileyo.

(But, things got out of hand in a very terrible way after my grandmother passed away. All of a sudden I was all alone, having to take care of myself, young and very naïve, and for a very strange reason I expected that "the lady" would finally come for me. It never

happened. Being alone and lonely, not knowing what to do, who to turn to was not the only thing I had to live with. There was no food in the house, at least not as healthy as when my grandmother was alive; I didn't have proper school clothes, shoes in particular not that my grandfather couldn't afford to buy them. He said that my mother was still alive and should be taking care of me and buy everything I needed because she can afford them and more. All of a sudden I became a charity case. A distant relative couldn't live with the situation anymore, so she bought the school shoes for me and prepared a lunchbox for me every morning, so that I don't look and feel different from other children. I owe her!

We grew apart day-in and day-out. A lot of things happened after that and she never took time to sit down with me to have a mother-daughter talk, in the true sense of the word-mother-daughter relationship. All she could do was to scorn me or talk to me only when to reprimand me not even caring to hear my side of the story. I felt that I was just a nerve to her and that there was nothing good that could ever come out of me. I didn't even have someone to confide to/in, to seek advice from or to run to. I didn't know where I really belonged, I was lost).

The Fourth Event

To prove that she was a very courageous person, this young lady did all she could to prove to her mother that she is a very worthwhile person, one whom everyone would love to have as part of their lives. She took extra miles and strides in trying to buy herself a place, no matter how small in her mother's heart and life. Even when that proved to be just a futile exercise, she never gave up- she persevered. Somehow, all these attempts proved her as a selfless person- putting others first, though we all know that the success of those attempts would benefit her at the end.

Narrative of the Fourth Event

Izinto zaya zisiba mandundu ngakumbi. Ndathi xa ndiqala ukuxelenga ndazama kangangoko ndinako ukwenza izinto ezizakumonelisa okanye endandicinga ukuba ziza kumonelisa umama wam, kangangokuba mna ndandiye ndizibeke kwimeko apho ndandide ndincame ezam izinto. Ndafumanisa ekuhambeni kwexesha ukuba ezi zinto ndandingazenzeli nje ukumonelisa, kuloko kwakufana nje nokuthenga indawo entliziyweni nasebomini bakhe nokuba incinci kangakanani na, oku nje kokuba kuthiwe nam ndiyinxalenye yobomi bakhe. Lonke olo xanduva aluzange lundizele nanto incomekayo,

ukusuka apho ndandisoloko ndinodandatheko nonxunguphalo olumandla, ndiziva ndizicaphukela nangona ndandingasazi ncam isizathu soko. Ndandiye ke ndizifumane ndisenza izizathwana ezazinokuba ngunobangela wokuba ubudlelwane bungabikho phakathi kwethu, nangona ubukhulu becala ndandiye ndizibeke ubutyala mna. Andizange ndiphele mandla kwiinzame zam zokwakha ubuhlobo naye kunye nodadewethu omncinci, ezam iimvakalelo nemiqweni ndandingazise so kangako oko nje ndiza konelisa bona. Yayingekuko ke nokuba babendicela ukuba ndibenzele izinto kuba babenayo yonke into abayifunayo nabayidingayo, qha nje ndandinethemba lokuba ekugqibeleni baya kude bandamkele kubomi babo obuntofo-ntofo, nam ndibe yinxalenye yabo. Ndandiye ke ndibathengele wena zimpahla, nditshintshe impahla yendlu ndinike umama imali inyanga nenyanga oku komvuzo, ndigoduka rhoqo. Kodwa yonke loo nkxamleko ayizange indenzele nto, ingazange iyitshintshe nemeko kananjalo, ukusuka apho ndaba neemvakalele zokuba ndisisiphazamisi nje oku kwesibhidi emanzini acocekileyo.

(Things got worse as time went by. When I started working, I would go out of my way sometimes just to please her, but mostly to buy myself a place in her heart and in her life- no matter how small. It never worked. I was always depressed, hating myself for something that I didn't really know, trying to find a reason and excuses for our non-existent relationship. My interests and needs were the last on my list, she and my younger sister were first, not that they asked me to do that but I thought by so doing they will finally make me part of their comfortable and perfect relationship/ life. I would buy them clothes, change the furniture in the house, give my mother money every month and even go home every now and again. But, that too never solved anything; instead I ended up feeling like some kind of an intruder in my own "home").

The Fifth Event

This is the secondary event of the narrative, which carries along with it a great sense of diplomacy and great courageousness on the part of the young lady. Seeing that everything else has failed and realising that there is absolutely no hope that things could ever change for the better between her and her mother, she finally decided to "throw in the towel", as it is said in isiXhosa that, "engakhaliyo iyayekwa". This coming into touch with reality brought the change into their relationship in a very positive way. A very healthy and fruitful relationship developed between the two of them, and everybody is happy.

Narrative of the Fifth Event

Ekuhambeni kwexesha ndiye ndakruquka noko yile meko ndiphila phantsi kwayo kangangokuba kwathi ngenye imini endandiphindela ngayo emsebenzini emva kweeholide kukwakho okunye ukungaboni ngasonye, ndathi kumama, " Ndiyathemba ukuba uya kuyibona ubungozi bale nto uyenzayo kum kusekwalthuba". Le ntetho yam yaba nokungamzinzisi ngandlel'ithile, kwaye ke ndiqinisekile ukuba yiyo nale eyazisa utshintsho lwentliziyo kuye, kuba kaloku ngoku ungumzali nomama lo ekwakukudala ndimlangazelela ebomini bam. Nangona ndingetsho ukuba sekukamva okanye ndithi seliphelile ixesha lokuba mna naye sibe nobuhlobo obububo phakathi kukamama nentombi, maxa wambi ndiye ndikufumanise oku kukhathala okumandla anako nakubonisayo ngoku kunokundixina okuthile kuba kaloku andibuqhelanga. Mvanje, ungumama okhathala kakhulu ngokwenzekayo ebomini bam, usoloko efuna ukwazi kwaye usoloko eyazi nento amakayithethe nendlela amakayithethe ngayo ukundenza ndivakalelwe bhetele, ingakumbi xa kukho into endikhubileyo nendikhathazileyo. Nam ndiyazama kwelam icala ukumenza inxalenye yobomi bam nokuziqhelanisa notshintsho lwabumini olukhoyo phakathi kwethu. Ekugqibeleni ndingatsho ndithi ewe, sinabo obuya budlelwane endandibunqwenela, ubudlelwane obububo phakathi kukamama nentombi yakhe.

(I got tired ultimately and one day when I was going back to work, after the holidays, I said her that, " I hope that by the time you realise what you are doing it wouldn't be too late".

That shook her up a little bit and I think it is what brought this massive change of heart in her, because now she seems to be acting more like a mother I needed and longed for back then. Though it is not that late, but I sometimes find her hovering over my life a bit suffocating and intrusive- I am not used to it. She is too concerned about what is happening in my life and she always knows what to say when I am not okay. I am also trying to accommodate her in my life and fill her in on everything that is happening in my life. So I can that finally, we are having that relationship I so longed for those years- back then).

1.2. Endpoint: Theme of the Narrative

The theme of the narrative is actually surviving feelings of unworthiness, being unloved and unwanted. It is about the acceptance of self first before expecting others to accept you. It is about valuing self and holding on to the will to survive and succeed at all costs. It is also about realising the fact that sometimes it is fear that drives others into doing terrible

things to us, their fear of failing us and not us. The mother of the narrator also concerns the theme of the narrative with the abuse of a child. The mother has neglected her child and after she has placed her in the care of a grandmother, took no further attention of the child.

1.3. Ordering of Events

1.3.1. Sequence

The events of the narrative are ordered in a linear sequence as already shown in the five events above. Firstly, there is that confused "it doesn't matter if she is my mom or not" kind of an attitude of a young girl, followed by the envious and more in touch with the surroundings girl. This is followed by the climax or central event of the narrative whereby the teenage girl experiences difficulty and the bitter taste of life through the hardships encountered after her grandmother's death, and mostly no involvement or interest from her "mother". This is the stage where this teenage girl had to prove her courage and will to survive and to actually rise above it all. This experience leads to the fourth event of the narrative in which now a working young lady, the narrator does all she could not only to impress her mother but primarily to buy herself a "plot" in her mother's heart and life. The failure of all her attempts takes us to the final event of the beginning of a healthy mother-daughter relationship, after narrator decided to call it quits and move on without her mother.

1.3.2. Duration

The duration of this narrative is not clear as it is not mentioned in the story, but it could have been from the time when the narrator was very young until her late twenties. It is very difficult to stipulate the exact duration.

1.4. Stability of Identity

The narrator does not have a coherent identity across time. Her character displays two sides firstly she appears as a very timid character, which is easily manipulated who eventually became a very strong and courageous person. This can be seen in the following events in the narrative:

The narrator as a timid person

The narrator is a lonely and confused character because her mother through neglect has abused her. After her grandmother died, no one within the family seemed willing to care for her, and by so-doing the abuse continued. Even when the narrator started working, there are no reciprocal feelings of love with her mother. In all this, the narrator is starving for love and she even went to an extent of buying her mother's love by giving her money and presents. The narrator is also driven to a point of being a jealous character because of the perfect relationship between her mother and her baby sister. Thus, her timidity can be seen in the following features: loneliness, confusion, love starvation and jealousy.

The narrator as a strong person

The narrator eventually gave up hope of having a normal and healthy relationship with her mother. It is at this point that she took a decision to leave behind her all her feelings of unworthiness, and confronted her mother. This confrontation was fruitful in that it brought a change of heart in her mother. Even though they both managed to develop and maintain a healthy mother-daughter relationship, the narrator finds her mother too intrusive in her life mostly because she has also gained a lot of confidence in herself and her independence.

1.5. Causal Linkages

The events in this narrative are causally linked in that they show the relationship between of a cause and an effect. Firstly, the narrator does not know her real mother as a result she is raised by her grandparents. Secondly, she leads a very unhappy life because her supportive and very loving grandmother has passed away. When things go Hayward, a relative decides to come to her rescue when no one in the family seems to care or willing to lend a hand. Fourthly, after having tried everything she could in order to get her mother's love and attention or recognition, she decides to call it quits.

1.6. Demarcation Signs

There are no demarcation signs in this narrative.

2. The Narrative Form

2.1. The regressive narrative

This story has a regressive and progressive form. The whole story progresses through in a form of the heroic saga, a repertoire of series of regressive-progressive phases. For example, after the grandmother passed away, the narrator all of a sudden was all alone with no one by her side, particularly the only person she had hoped would come to her rescue, her mother. All the hardships she went through and the attempts or strides she took in trying to get through to her mother's heart and life symbolises the regressive narrative.

2.2. The progressive narrative

The narrative is progressive because the narrator is finally able to speak her mind out and as a result, life becomes easier. All the successes such as school and getting a job, even having someone to help her as the relative who bought shoes and helped her by making sure that she does not look and feel different from other children at school, signifies the progressive narrative. The narrator persevered in all the battles even when the chances and hopes of ever succeeding were very slim, and she ultimately accomplished her dream and mission of having a healthy mother-daughter relationship with her mother.

3. Self-Narrative

3.1. Relationship among events

All the events of the narrative are connected with one another. The narrator begins with her first encounter with the so-called mother whom she had never met before and even though she admires her and everything about her she doesn't seem to bother about their relationship. This plot directly connects to the next event when the narrator start realising things and able to differentiate between people and the surroundings, and shows or voices out a lot of interest in this woman who is supposed to be her mother. When the story continues, the narrator shows some kind of desperation in persuing a relationship with her mother now especially after the sudden death of her grandmother who has always perfectly and wonderfully filled that gap. This connection continues in this linear form until

the end when the two, that is, the narrator and her mother finally manage to develop and maintain a healthy relationship.

3.2. Social accounting

The narrator concentrates on self-identification. For example, she looks at herself as a very ignored and unloved child/ person; she is vilified by her mother and she also looks at herself as a charity case hence relatives had to chip in to rescue her when her mother is still alive, and from what is said she is well to do.

3.3. Narrative is true

This is a true narrative in most of our African cultures particularly with children born out of wedlock, whereby grandparents would take the child and raise it as their own, and no one is allowed to mention the real mother as the mother to the child. Sometimes a relationship between the two is even discouraged, and the mothers would comply to show remorse for their actions of having had a child out of wedlock and remorse for their immorality, not that they don't love or want their children. This becomes even more difficult when the grandparents pass away, when they have to have a relationship because it is more of a guilt-trip on the part of the mother, not knowing where to start or how to explain the situation. The narrator and her mother were very fortunate in that they managed to get through everything, because in most cases some children resent and hate their mothers for "neglecting" them, as they put it. There are many people who would relate to this story as most of them being parents or even grandparents now, they don't know who their mother was and some are not sure. This is a true narrative.

4. Practices of Self-Narration: Process

4.1. Variety of Narrative Forms

This story has a variety of narrative forms. For example, the story opens with a regressive narrative whereby the narrator is alerted of her situation that this elegant and gorgeous lady who always visits her home bringing goodies and nice clothes for her is actually her mother, but as young as she was, she was aware of their non-existent relationship. Maybe, because of childhood she pushes that out of her system and concentrates on the

present. As she grew up and the events of the story intensifies, so does the narrative form, and we notice the alteration in the narrative slope and the narrator goes through closely interspersed ups and downs- much more like the regressive-progressive interchange or phases. But, at the end, the protagonist rises above all as the victor, and by so doing making the whole narrative a heroic saga.

4.2. Micro Narrative

The narrator relates events of her personal narrative, which occurred over a period of time, which is not stipulated in the story and that makes this story a micro-narrative.

4.3. Nesting of Narrative

Nesting is not applicable because there is only one narrative.

5. Pragmatics of Self-Narrative

5.1. Progressive Narrative

There is a progressive change in the narrator in the sense that even though she started off or appeared not to care that much whether she had a relationship with her mother or not, when the time of need came she took it up to herself to change the situation between the two of them and never gave up. So, that willpower of trying to improve the situation and to make the other person realise the importance of companionship, has also helped the other to see and perceive things differently and more positively. The narrator has therefore not only managed to save herself but also saved her mother from the cruel cultural bondage and misery.

5.2. Regressive Narration

This narrative solicits sympathy, intimacy, admiration, pity and concern, motivation and compensation. Why, because knowledge about such things engenders feelings that make others feel obliged into doing something to help or learn from the situation that even though things might seem as if they will never change, if you put your mind and effort into it you could succeed. At the same time, this might provide a lesson to mothers who have

neglected their children and realise the hardships and hell their children are enduring, and give them courage that they still have a chance to make things right.

6. Interknitting of Identities

6.1. Moral evaluation

The narrator is evaluated in her community as a very courageous, strong-willed and good-hearted person. She has portrayed herself not only as able to redeem self but also as a redeemer as she has redeemed her mother. The community seems to be accepting her because throughout the narrative, the narrator seems to be the one who always obliges and accepts what is dished out to her even though she doesn't give up on her mission, which she quietly and relentlessly continued to work on. She was exposed to the public eye hence some were able to come to her rescue at times of need.

6.2. Interminable Negotiation

The identity of the narrator as a courageous, perseverance and meek teenage girl has been sustained by her community as they witnessed all the hardships she went through and knowing that it was a cultural norm then that the so-called "illegitimate" children be raised by grandparents. This has also been manifested by her mother's acceptance and proclamation of undying love and commitment to their newly found relationship.

6.3. Reciprocal Identities

The narrator's mother is instrumental in everything that the narrator went through, because everything she did was to please her mother with the hope that she would finally fit her and accommodate her in her life.

7. Emotions

- (a) The narrator experienced emotions of confusion, not knowing whether it is true that this is the real mother or not. To an extent this feeling grew into remorse whereby the narrator was wondering as to why she was not staying with her mother and being afraid even to get close lest she soils her clothes. You could argue that somehow the

narrator saw herself as an unwanted child, that she was not good enough. The narrator agrees that she was jealous of her younger sister because she had everything she ever wished for, the time with her mother and her love. These feelings led to anger at some point, anger at self, the mother and the system itself.

- (b) All these emotions are embedded in the culture in that a person who has experienced neglect from a parent, especially a mother is bound to be confused as a child, jealous of her siblings if they are treated differently from her, and also to be angry if all her attempts of developing a relationship are given a cold shoulder. She would be angry with self for not accepting things that can never change, angry with the parent for not loving him/her and bringing the child to this world only to make it suffer, and angry with the system for allowing people to get away with this kind of abuse.
- (c) The emotional expressions of being persuasive in trying to develop a relationship with her mother are meaningful. Being neglected by her mother is the result of the feelings of unworthiness that overwhelm her.
- (d) Though feelings of being neglected and unwanted are so overwhelming, she doesn't allow herself to be absorbed by hostility. Hostility is acceptable in this culture under the circumstances.

Analysis No. 2**Rife Racial Issues in Work Places in the Post Democratic South Africa**

Ewe, nguMzantsi Afrika omtsha nombuso omtsha wesininzi nokhethwe sisininzi. Izinto ezininzi zitshintshile oko kwathi kwalawula abantu abaNtsundu ekukudala becinezelekile phantsi kombuso wocalu-calulo nengcinezelo. Ingaba olu calu-calulo lusagquba okanye lukhukhuliseke nombuso walo owabhangiswa ngonyaka ka-1994 ? Kananjalo, ingaba kulo mbuso mtsha siyakwazi ukuhlalelana ndawonye singabukulani ngokobuhlanga nanjengoko sisithi siyalingana?

Ukuphendula le mibuzo ndingathi ndiyavuma ndibuye ndiziphikise kananjalo ukuba silufezile okanye siyalufeza olo gqatso lokulwa nocalu-calulo ngokobuhlanga, kuba isekhona loo mingqandandana esakhabalaza ngawo omane ixelisa ihashe lisifa. Xa ndizama ukuphendula umbuzo wokuba siyakwazi ukuhlalelana ndawonye kusini na, ingakumbi phakathi kwabo baMhlophe nabo baNtsundu ndakuthi gqaba-gqaba nje ngemeko yam xeshikweni bendixelenga njengomfundisi-ntsapho kwisikolo sabaMhlophe kweli leentlanzi, phofu ke ndixelenga kunye nabantu abaNtsundu phantsi kwabaphathi abaNtsundu, indim ndodwa umntu oNtsundu.

Ndithe ndisakube ndigqibe izifundo zam zeMasters kwiDyunivesithi yeleNtshona Koloni kwicandelo leelwimi zesiNtu, ndafumana umsebenzi wokuhlohla isiXhosa kwisikolo samabanga aphakamileyo iVictor Verster*, esasifudula isesabaMhlophe kuphela. Kaloku kulo mbuso mtsha wentando yesininzi yabhangiswa loo nto yokubekelwa bucala kwezinto ezithile ukuze zixhanyulwe ngabaMhlophe kuphela, kwaze emva koko kwathiwa iilwimi zeli loMzantsi Afrika zilishumi elinanye kwaye zisetyenziswa ngokulinganayo ngokuqulunqwe ngokwasemthethweni. Kuba bengafuni kuvela njengabantu abalwa ingunqu, abaphathi besi sikolo bagqiba kwelokuba nabo mabasifake isiXhosa njengesinye sezifundo ezenziwayo kwisikolo sabo, ngolo hlobo ke nam ndabe ndifumana umsebenzi. Kube mnandana ke ukufika kwam apha, ndibona ukuba bonke bayazama ukundenza ndizive ndisekhaya nam, ndibungezelelwa.

Akubanga ntsuku-zatywala ndabona ukuba ingathi ndikho nje apha kuba aba bantu bengenakwenza ngakumbi kungenjalo andamkelekanga ncam. Ukuwenza mafutshane ke, ndiqwalasele ukuba kwa abantwana aba baNtsundu abaphathwa ngendlela efanayo nabo

baMhlophe, ndithi mna uyifumane ititshala ithetha izinto ezoyikisayo nezinobuhlanga phakathi bade ngamanye amaxesha babaxelele ukuba abafanelanga ukuba kwesi sikolo, kuba beqina kwinyala lokuba izikolo ezibalungeleyo zisezilokishini. Bekungekho namnye umntwana oNtsundu oyiPrefect ingekuko ukuba abekho abakulungeleyo oko, ukusuka apho xa uphanda ngalo mba kusukwe kubhudwe ngelithi abantwana abaNtsundu abakakulungeli ukuba ziiPrefect kwaye nabo baMhlophe kunye nabazali babo abangeke bayonwabele loo nto. Le mfitshi-mfitshi yandikhwankqisa ke noko, kodwa kuba bendisafika ndagqiba kwelokuba mandiyeke nje kunjalo.

Ayiphelelanga nje ebantwaneni le meko, iye yadlulela nalapha kum apho ufumanisa ukuba ndixelelwa apha ezinkonkqeni ukuba andisokuze ndiyivisise kakuhle okanye ndiyilandele ncam imeko nendlela ekwenziwa ngayo izinto apha, kuba yahlukile kunaleyo yasezilokishini okanye emaphandleni. Ude ubeve bekhazela naleyo nto bayibiza ngokuba lugxalathelwano olwenziwa ziitshala zabaNtsundu kwizikolo zabo, ekubeni bona bengayi kwezo zabaNtsundu. Ndizamile ukubalungisa mihla le kule mbono yabo kodwa nabo bengapheli mandla, kucaca mhlophe ukuba baqinelwe ziintloko bade bathi xa bezincokolela, badiniwe bona ngoku "nalolu lwimi lwezilwanyana" oluthathelwe phezulu. Eminye imizekelo endinokuyikhankanya ukuzama ukuveza ubuhlanga obugqubayo kwesi sikolo yile:

- Apha kwesi sikolo awuvumelekanga njengetitshala ukuba woluleke umntwana xa onile egumbini lokufundela ukanti naphina, bekuye kufuneke ukuba ndibize omnye wamaphathi ibe nguye onika isohlwayo ebantwaneni.
- Ndafika kungekho gumbi lesiXhosa, kufuneke rhoqo ngexesha (period) lesiXhosa ndizule isikolo esi ndifunana negumbi ukuze ndihlohe abafundi.
- Isixhosa besingafakwa kwi time-table xa kubhalwa iimviwo, kusuke kuthiwe sisifundo nje sokuchitha ixesha.

Enye into ebendingayonwabeli apha kukufumanisa ukuba rhoqo xa kuthe kwabakho abantwana abaNtsundu abalwileyo okanye benze nayiphi na imposiso, kuba ke eneneni abantwana baya kuhlala bengabantwana nokuba umhlophe okanye umnyama, kubizwe mna ukuba ndithethe nabo ekubeni bengayenzi loo nto xa ingabantwana baMhlophe. Lo mkhuba undikruqule mpela ndade ndaqonda ukuba andisayi kuyiyeka ihambe nje nomoya le meko. Ndibabuzile ukuba le nto bayenzayo ithetha ukuthini na, kutheni le nto bengenakukwazi ukubanqwanqwada abantwana ngokufanayo nabo bohlanga lwabo;

kutheni beyenza into yobuhlanga nje? Abakwazanga kundiphendula ukusuka apho baqhubekeka beyenza le nto nam ndazixelela ukuba andizi kuyenza loo nto kuba ichasene nomgaqo-siseko welizwe lethu.

Eyona nto iye yandikruqula ngakumbi ke ngoku yile yokufumanisa ukuba kuthi xa kusenziwa izipho zabantwana abagqwesileyo kwizifundo phambi kokuba kubhalwe iimviwo zokuphela konyaka, esi siXhosa singabalwa ekubeni sele ingunyaka wesithathu lo sisenziwa. Xa ndizama ukuqonda ngale nto kusuke kwathiwa hayi isiXhosa yinto nje eyenziwa kuba umthetho usithi kufanele ukuba kwenziwe iilwimi zesiNtu ezikolweni, kungenjalo ngokunokwabo akukho apho aba bantwana baya kuya khona ngaso, akukho nto baza kuyivuna kuso ukutsho oko. Ndiyilwe kwamdaka iisali naleyo bade banikezela oonqevu, bazifumana abantwana iimbasa zabo bechulumancile kunjalonje.

Mhla ndafikelela kwisigqibo sokuba mandinikezele, ndibashiye ngoxolo abantwana beNkosi endaweni yabo, kumhla ndafika kwindlwana endibeka kuyo imisebenzi yam naleyo yabantwana inguqulukubhode, ziwile izinto, zophukile izinto kumdaka kunuka into endingayaziyo. Ndandiba nazo neendawo ezithi yipeyinti kusini, okanye yiparafini edityaniswe nodaka, kodwa ngokufutshane nje yonke into eyayilapho yayonakalisiwe. Ungalibali ke ukuba le ndlu iyatshixwa, into ethetha ukuba lowo wenze loo mkhuba unayo indlela okanye igunya lokufikelela kwizitshixo. Eyona nto yandenza umsindo kukuthi xa ndiyondlala le meko entlanganisweni kwangaloo mini, kusuke kugquzukwe yintsini nkqu nenqununu le yembala, ndithi ndisakubuza ngale icubhulisa umntu wonke ngentsini kube ngathi ndiyabanyumbaza. Ngaloo mini ndabona ukuba akukho nto ndiyenzayo kwesi sikolo kuba ukuba ndiyaqhubeka ndakube ndizicuthela nje ubomi.

Zonke ezi zinto zenzekayo bendiye ndizichaze kwabo baphetheyo kwiSebe lezeMfundo, ndibongoza ukuba baziqwalasele ezi zinto basebenzise amagunya abo ukuzisombulula. Nangale mini ke ndiphume ndagqotsa ukuya kubo ndiyokubachazela ukuba andisakwazi kuyinyamezela imeko yaseVictor Verster*, kuba bonke abantu balapho abazimisele kuvumelana nenguqu, kuloko bayilwa ngandlela zonke. Ndabashiya besithi baza kuwuqwalasela loo mcimbi baze babuyele kum, ndithetha nawe nje ndisajonge enkalweni kunanamhla oku.

(It is indeed the new South Africa, the new democracy and the new democratic government as elected by the majority of the people in the country. A lot of things have

really changed for the best under the leadership of Blacks after many years of oppression and discrimination. The question is, has racial discrimination been completely blown away after 1994? Are all the peoples of the country able to live together equally, happily and peacefully without discriminating one another? To answer these questions, I would partly say yes, somehow we have accomplished that except for those few who are fighting against transformation, more like the last kicks of a dying horse as this is in vain.

To answer the above question of whether we are able to live peacefully together, I would like to relate my own experiences as the isiXhosa teacher at one of the predominantly white schools in the Western Cape, and being the only Black teacher among white teachers.

After finishing my M.A. in African Languages at the University of the Western Cape, I got a teaching position as isiXhosa teacher at Victor Verster High School, which used to be exclusively for whites, something that was phased out by the current government. As a result of this, opportunities were open to everyone irrespective of colour, race or language and culture. After the new government announced that there are eleven official languages in South Africa, the management at Victor Verster also decided to add one African Language to their curriculum and that is how I got the post. Things were quite well at the beginning and I felt that everyone was friendly towards me and I felt welcomed and comfortable.*

As time went-by, I realised that I was not really welcome there, it was as if I was there only because the constitution wanted so, and things started happening. Even the way the staff members dealt with the pupils was so discriminating that you would find a teacher making comments such as "the black pupils do not belong in this school, they belong in townships". There was not even a single Black Prefect at the school, not that they were not capable or competent enough for that. When I enquired about it, I was told that they were not yet ready for such responsibilities and besides, white parents and pupils wouldn't be happy with that. I found this to be a very strange thing to say especially in this day and time, but then I decided to let go.

These pupils were not the only ones being affected by this scourge of racial discrimination, it affected me too as the teacher and they did not have to think twice about telling me how they feel. Furthermore, they would even incite that I will never understand or be in touch

with the way they do or approach things as it is completely different from the township style or something. They even complained about the so-called influx of Black teachers in/to the "white schools" whereas they wouldn't do that to their schools (township schools). I tried to show them how wrong their perception of the Black culture was, but they never gave up- they even commented of being tired of "this animal language" that seems to be in the centre of everything. The following are some of the examples that show the rife racial divide in the school:

- As teacher is not allowed to reprimand a learner when she or he has committed an offense in the classroom or anywhere around the premises of the school, instead a teacher is required to call one of the SMT (School Management Team) members to come and punish the learner in question.*
- When I arrived at the school there was no classroom for isiXhosa, instead I was required to go around the school looking for an empty classroom whenever it was isiXhosa period.*
- IsiXhosa was never included in the examination time-table during exams, because they claimed that it was just a pastime.*

There is one other thing I didn't like about the system of the school whereby you find that whenever Black pupils have engaged in a fight or any mischief because at the end of the day kids are kids, I would be called to take care of that or sort it out. Contrary to this, when White pupils are involved they do not call me. This really made me angry and I couldn't let it go like that so I asked them why are they doing it, why are they widening the racial divide instead of bridging it and they couldn't answer me, instead they continued doing it and I also told myself that I am not going to give them that satisfaction- and besides, it is against our constitution.

Another thing that made me even more angrier was to discover that during or towards prize-giving my subject isiXhosa was not catered for, and when I enquired I was told that the subject is not that important and there is absolutely nothing that the kids are going to benefit from it. According to their narrow-mindedness, isiXhosa was done only because the government said so, but I fought that and successfully so, and as a result the kids got their prizes with merit and they were ecstatic.

In addition to this, there is one particular day when I finally decided that I should just leave these people alone and in peace in their comfort zone. What happened is that one

morning when I got into my workroom where I keep my work and my pupils' projects, it was all upside down in shambles and messy. I couldn't even tell whether it was paint or paraffin mixed with mud that was poured all over the place and the projects, I still don't know except that everything was damaged. This room and others are always locked, which means that whoever did this foolish act had an access to the keys. What drove me mad was the fact that when I mentioned this in the staff meeting everybody just burst into a hilarious laughter including the principal, and when I asked what was funny about this issue- it was as if I was tickling them. That day I came to realise that I had no purpose in that school and that the sooner I leave the better, especially for my health.

I used to report these incidents to the Department of Education, and even on this particular day I went there and told them everything. I also told them that all these incidents are so overwhelming for me and that I cannot take it anymore. It was so clear to me that all the members of the Victor Verster are just not ready for transformation, instead they would stop at nothing to see to it that it does not happen, particularly at their school. They promised that they would get to it and treat it as a matter of urgency, and then get back to me. I am still waiting even today.)*

1 The Structure of the Narrative Account

1.1 Selection of events in the account: Plot Structure

1.1.1. The narrative relates to the experiences of a young man who has been subjected to the fangs of racial discrimination post-democracy, even when all the South Africans are celebrating ten years of democracy. There are therefore, various events that are intertwined through this core element of racial segregation. The manner in which these events are organized, gives result to the plot structure of the narrative.

This gentleman's narrative consists of central and primary plot, that of rife racial issues within Victor Verster High School*. There are correlated events that relate his experiences and his response to them.

The First Event

In the first event, the narrator gives us a brief background of his work place and that of his country, which makes every reader to think hard about the real state of things in the

country or of their situations and environments for that matter, to see if there are still traits or elements of racism or the like whether visible or not. In this event the narrator is also giving us (the readers) a brief introduction and background about himself and also the organogram of his workplace that tells a story on its own.

Narrative of the First Event

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The Second Event

Even though the narrator highlighted that the warm welcome he received from his colleagues and that he was made to feel comfortable with his new surroundings, all that was short-lived as the true colours of his so-called new family surfaced. The narrator was so appalled and disgusted by racism, which was still practised by some members of the South African community. According to this narration, what was done by the narrator's colleagues towards the narrator, the Black pupils and the subject isiXhosa were not a mistake, but a deliberate ignorant move, resistance against transformation and diversity in the country. The narrator portrays great courage by defending not only himself but also the

Black pupils' rights to equal education and treatment, and also respect and recognition of his culture and language- isiXhosa.

Narrative of the Second Event

Akubanga ntsuku-zatywala ndabona ukuba ingathi ndikho nje apha kuba aba bantu bengenakwenza ngakumbi kungenjalo andamkelekanga ncam. Ukuwenza mafutshane ke, ndiqwalasele ukuba kwa abantwana aba baNtsundu abaphathwa ngendlela efanayo nabo baMhlophe, ndithi mna uyifumane ititshala ithetha izinto ezoyikisayo nezinobuhlanga phakathi bade ngamanye amaxesha babaxelele ukuba abafanelanga ukuba kwesi sikolo, kuba beqina kwinyala lokuba izikolo ezibalungeleyo zisezilokishini. Bekungekho namnye umntwana oNtsundu oyiPrefect ingekuko ukuba abekho abakulungeleyo oko, ukusuka apho xa uphanda ngalo mba kusukwe kubhudwe ngelithi abantwana abaNtsundu abakakulungeli ukuba ziiPrefect kwaye nabo baMhlophe kunye nabazali babo abangeke bayonwabele loo nto. Le mfitshi-mfitshi yandikhwankqisa ke noko, kodwa kuba bendisafika ndagqiba kwelokuba ndiyeka nje kunjalo.

Ayiphelelanga nje ebantwaneni le meko iye yadlulela nalapha kum apho ufumanisa ukuba ndixelelwa apha ezinkonkqeni ukuba andisokuze ndiyivisise kakuhle okanye ndiyilandele ncam imeko nendlela ekwenziwa ngayo izinto apha, kuba yahlukile kunaleyo yasezilokishini okanye emaphandleni. Ude ubeve bekhazela naleyo nto bayibiza ngokuba lugxalathelwano olwenziwa ziititshala zabaNtsundu kwizikolo zabo, ekubeni bona bengayi kwezo zabaNtsundu. Ndizamile ukubalungisa mihla le kule mbono yabo kodwa nabo bengapheli mandla, kucaca mhlophe ukuba baqinelwe ziintloko bade bathi xa bezincokolela, badiniwe bona ngoku "nalolu lwimi lwezilwanyana" oluthathelwe phezulu. Eminye imizekelo endinokuyikhankanya ukuzama ukuveza ubuhlanga obugqubayo kwesi sikolo yile:

- Apha kwesi sikolo awuvumelekanga njengetitshala ukuba woluluke umntwana xa onile egumbini lokufundela ukanti naphina, bekuye kufuneke ukuba ndibize omnye wabaphathi ibe nguye onika isohlwayo ebantwaneni.
- Ndafika kungekho gumbi lesiXhosa, kufuneke rhoqo ngexesha (period) lesiXhosa ndizule isikolo esi ndifunana negumbi ukuze ndihlohle abafundi.
- IsiXhosa besingafakwa kwi time-table xa kubhalwa iimviwo, kusuke kuthiwe sisifundo nje sokuchitha ixesha.

Enye into ebendingayonwabeli apha kukufumanisa ukuba rhoqo xa kuthe kwabakho abantwana abaNtsundu abalwileyo okanye benza nayiphi na imposiso, kuba ke eneneni abantwana bayakuhlala bengabantwana nokuba umhlophe okanye umnyama, kubizwe mna ukuba ndithethe nabo ekubeni bengayenzi loo nto xa ingabantwana abamhlophe. Lo mkhuba undikruqule mpela ndade ndaqonda ukuba andisayi kuyiyeka ihambe nje nomoya le meko. Ndibabuzile ukuba le nto bayenzayo ithetha ukuthini na, kutheni le nto bengenakukwazi ukubanjwanqwada abantwana ngokufanayo nabo bohlanga lwabo; kutheni beyenza into yobuhlanga nje? Abakwazanga kundiphendula ukusuka apho baqhubekeka beyenza le nto nam ndazixelela ukuba andizi kuyenza loo nto kuba ichasene nomgaqo-siseko welizwe lethu.

Eyona nto iye yandikruqula ngakumbi ke ngoku yile yokufumanisa ukuba kuthi xa kusenziwa izipho zabantwana abagqwesileyo kwizifundo phambi kokuba kubhalwe iimviwo zokuphela konyaka, esi siXhosa singabalwa ekubeni sele ingunyaka wesithathu lo sisenziwa. Xa ndizama ukuqonda ngale nto kusuke kwathiwa hayi isiXhosa yinto nje eyenziwa kuba umthetho usithi kufanele ukuba kwenziwe iilwimi zesiNtu ezikolweni, kungenjalo ngokunokwabo akukho apho aba bantwana baya kuya khona ngaso, akukho nto baza kuyivuna kuso ukutsho oko. Ndiyilwe kwamdaka iisali naleyo bade banikezela oonqevu, bazifumana abantwana iimbasa zabo bechulumancile kunjalonje.

(As time went-by I realised that I was not really welcome there, it was as if I was there only because the constitution wanted so, and things started happening. Even the way the staff members dealt with the pupils was so discriminating that you would find a teacher making comments such as "the Black pupils do not belong in this school, they belong in townships". There was not even a single Black Prefect at the school, not that they were not capable or competent enough for that. When I enquired about it, I was told that they were not yet ready for such responsibilities and besides, white parents and pupils wouldn't be happy with that. I found this to be a very strange thing to say especially in this day and time, but then I just decided to let go.

These pupils were not the only ones being affected by this scourge of racial discrimination, it affected me too as the teacher and they did not have to think twice about telling me how they feel. Furthermore, they would even comment that I will never understand or be in touch with the way they do or approach things as it is completely different from the township style or something. They even complained about the so-called influx of Black teachers to the "white schools" whereas they wouldn't do that to their schools (township

schools). I tried to show them how wrong their perception of the Black culture was, but they never gave up- they even commented of being tired of "this animal language" that seems to be in the centre of everything. The following are some of the examples that show the rife racial divide in the school:

- As a teacher is not allowed to reprimand a learner when she or he has committed an offense in the classroom or anywhere around the premises of the school, instead a teacher is required to call one of the SMT (School Management Team) members to come and punish the learner in question.*
- When I arrived at the school there was no classroom for isiXhosa, instead I was required to go around the school looking for an empty classroom whenever it was isiXhosa period.*
- IsiXhosa was never included in the examination time-table during exams, because they claimed that it was just a pastime.*

There is one other thing I didn't like about the system of the school whereby you find that whenever Black pupils have engaged in a fight or any mischief because at the end of the day kids are kids, I would be called to take care of that or sort it out. Contrary to this, when White pupils are involved they do not call me. This really made me angry and I couldn't let it go like that so I asked them why are they doing it, why are they widening the racial divide instead of bridging it and they couldn't answer me, instead they continued doing it and I also told myself that I am not going to give them that satisfaction- and besides, that was against our constitution.

Another thing that made me even more angrier was to discover that during or towards prize-giving my subject isiXhosa was not catered for, and when I enquired I was told that the subject is not that important and there is absolutely nothing that the kids are going to benefit from it. According to their narrow-mindedness, isiXhosa was done only because the government said so, but I fought that and successfully so and as a result the kids got their prizes with merit and they were ecstatic.)

The Third Event

This is the final event of the narrative; the tip of the iceberg so to speak whereby the incidents and race-related challenges become so overwhelming for the narrator and he finally decides to call it quits. The incidents that took place and the narrator's response to them, marks this event as the climax and the core of this narrative. The narrator has come

to realise that his attempts and efforts of contributing towards diversity in the country were just a futile exercise especially when the Department of Education does not seem willing to assist. This narrator has portrayed his selflessness and comradeship for transformation and equality the best he could, only in vain. The narration ends tragically because it appears as if the narrator has lost his job and as a result adding to the countless number of the unemployed in the country.

Narrative of the Third Event

Mhla ndafikelela kwisigqibo sokuba mandinikezele, ndibashiye ngoxolo abantwana beNkosi endaweni yabo, kumhla ndafika kwindlwana endibeka kuyo imisebenzi yam naleyo yabantwana inguqulukubhode, ziwile izinto, zophukile izinto kumdaka kunuka into endingayaziyo. Ndandibanazo nendawo ezithi yipeyinti kusini, okanye yiparafini edityaniswe nodaka, kodwa ngokufutshane nje yonke into eyayilapho yayonakalisiwe. Ungalibali ke ukuba le ndlu iyatshixwa, into ethetha ukuba lowo wenze loo mkhuba unayo indlela okanye igunya lokufikelela kwizitshixo. Eyona nto yandenza umsindo kukuthi xa ndiyondlala le meko entlanganisweni kwangaloo mini, kusuke kugquzukwe yintsini nkqu nenqununu le yembala, ndithi ndisakubuza ngale icubhulisa umntu wonke ngentsini kube ngathi ndiyabanyumbaza. Ngaloo mini ndabona ukuba akukho nto ndiyenzayo kwesi sikolo kuba ukuba ndiyaqhubeka ndakube ndizicuthela nje ubomi.

Zonke ezi zinto zenzekayo bendiye ndizichaze kwabo baphetheyo kwiSebe lezeMfundo, ndibongoza ukuba baziqwalasele basebenzise amagunya abo ukuzisombulula. Nangale mini ke ndiphume ndagqotsa ukuya kubo ndiyokubachazela ukuba andisakwazi kuyinyamezela imeko yaseVictor Verster*, kuba bonke abantu balapho abazimisele kuvumelana nenguqu, kuloko bayilwa ngandlela zonke. Ndabashiya besithi baza kuwuqwalasela lo mcimbi baze babuyele kum, ndithetha nawe nje ndisajonge enkalweni kunanamhla oku.

(In addition to this, there is one particular day when I finally decided that I should just leave these people alone and in peace in their comfort zone. What happened is that one morning when I got into my workroom where I keep my work and my pupils' projects, it was all upside down in shambles and messy. I couldn't even tell whether it was paint or paraffin mixed with mud that was poured all over the place and the projects, I still don't know except that everything was damaged. This room and others are always locked,

which means that who ever did this foolish act had an access to the keys. What drove me mad was the fact that when I mentioned this in the staff meeting everybody just burst into a hilarious laughter including the principal, and when I asked what was funny about this issue- it was as if I was tickling them. That day I came to realise that I had no purpose in that school and that the sooner I leave the better especially for my health.

I used to report these incidents to the Department of Education, and even on this particular day I went there and told them everything. I also told them that all these incidents are so overwhelming for me and that I cannot take it anymore. It was so clear to me that all the members of Victor Verster are just not ready for transformation, instead they would stop at nothing to see to it that it does not happen, particularly at their school. The departmental officials promised that they would get to it and treat this as a matter of urgency, and then get back to me. I am still waiting even today.)*

1.2. Endpoint: Theme of the Narrative

The theme of this narrative is actually abuse and also the acknowledgement of the fact that, even though South Africa is a democratic country, there are places or provinces that still practise apartheid or racial discrimination. The narrative shows a terrible treatment, which the isiXhosa teacher experienced at the hands of his White colleagues. This disease is so rife to an extent that even the departmental officials do not seem to consider or regard this an issue to be dealt with and to be redressed. It is clear, according to this narrative that people of Victor Verster High School* are against transformation, in defiance of the country's constitution and they also do not seem to be bothered about violating other fellow South African's rights. The narrative wanted to highlight the slow process of transformation through the evidence of how he was abused at a formerly white school.

1.3. Ordering of Events

1.3.1. Sequence

The events in the narrative are ordered in a linear sequence. At first, the narrator relates to us as to how he got the teaching position at Victor Verster High School and the reasons why that particular post was created. He continued to narrate to us as to what happened when he first arrived, the challenges he encountered and how he dealt with them, the role

played by the school management and the department of education in the province. He concludes by telling us about his reasons for quitting the job.

1.3.2. Duration

According to what the narrator has given to us, it is reasonable to conclude that all this took almost three years, because at the beginning he mentioned that he got the post after it was created. He also highlighted that the subject was not included for prize giving even though it has been taught at the school for three years.

1.4 Stability of Identity

The narrator has a coherent identity throughout the narrative, starting from his arrival at the school, the challenges he came across with to the moment when he finally decided to give up. The narrator has a resolute character that is firm and determined in purpose. Although various incidents of bad treatment or abusive situations were given, it did not change his resolute character and he ended as he began- with a strong and determined character.

1.5. Causal Linkages

The events in the narrative are causally linked. The main cause of this story is the racial divide that is so rife at Victor Verster High School*. This cause pervades the whole narrative and as such it results in some major consequences or rather effects within the school and later, the department of education. For example, when he noticed some strange tendencies as far as interaction between teachers and Black students in particular and also towards the subject (isiXhosa) itself. He strongly felt that he should do something about it, which he did. He fought for the recognition and respect of his language, which is practically speaking, the same as his culture.

1.6. Demarcation Signs

The narrator gives a brief background of the country in which all his experiences are taking place, and also a background of the school where he worked. This serves as a demarcation sign used as preamble of the narrative and it also forms part of the plot

structure. The narrator in a form of "ndithetha nje nawe, ndisajonge enkalweni unanamhla oku" has used another demarcation sign, to mark the end of his narrative.

2. Narrative Form

The narrative has both the progressive and regressive forms.

2.1. Progressive narrative

At first, the narrator saw hope of the end of discrimination after the establishment of a new democracy in 1994. He highlighted some positive signs such as:

- Former white schools now offer isiXhosa as a subject.
- Such schools accept Black teachers.

He was very hopeful of his new environment as inspired by the positive attitude portrayed by his colleagues when he arrived by welcoming him and making him feel comfortable in his new environment. Even though things started changing, he was hopeful that one day everything will be normal and the treatment and respect will be equal with the one given to the Whites and their subjects, so as to their culture. This story has an element of a progressive narrative because most of the times when the narrator challenges some of the issues, he ends with positive outcomes something that adds massively on his hope and encouragement of bringing full diversity and transformation to the institution.

2.2. Regressive narrative

All the hope that is portrayed by the narrator could be argued as emanating from his denial of the true nature of the situation in his work place. This could be so because it took him almost three years to realise and accept the fact that things can never change at Victor Verster, a Black person will always be a Black person and inferior. The narrative has then changed into a regressive one because of the presence of an isiXhosa teacher at a former white school. These changes have manifested themselves in the following circumstances:

- Staff members at the school have a negative attitude towards Black pupils (e.g. no Black prefects) as well as to the Black teachers in white schools in general.
- He was treated badly at school, (e.g. he was not allowed to reprimand or punish his learners even when they have wronged him, he had no classroom for his subject isiXhosa, and isiXhosa was not included in the examination time-table).

- Whenever Black pupils have engaged in a fight, he would be called to mediate whereas that was not the case when white students were in the same situation.
- IsiXhosa was not catered for during prize-giving.
- His isiXhosa workroom was vandalised.
- His predicament was given no attention by the Department of Education.

3 Self-Narrative

3.1 Relationship among Self-relevant Events Across Time

The events of the story are related in such a way that each event connects or leads to the other. Firstly, the narrator relates to us the situation in his school, which has been portrayed to him as a very diverse and transformed environment. This, somehow made him relax and feel comfortable within the purely white community, something which he was not used to. From this, he moves on by citing almost all the challenges of which he was faced, which were the proof that the school and the staff, particularly the management team were against diversity and transformation, and that he was not welcomed and that he together with his subject isiXhosa will never be fully and totally incorporated within the school policy. The narrator then wraps up his story by alerting the reader of how rife and wide the racial divide is, as he never received support or protection even from the Department of Education.

3.2 Social Accounting

This narrative fulfils the social purpose of self-justification, because the narrator continues to justify each and every decision he makes to redress, address and solve the challenges that are thrown at him and to those closer to him in terms of social identity. The narrator justifies his decision he took of not confronting those teachers who were discriminating the Black pupils by saying that it was mainly because he had just arrived at the school. He continues justifying all his moves stating his primary motives for performing them. The narrator states his well-being or health and the ignorance of his colleagues as the main cause for his resignation.

3.3 Narrative is True

This is indeed a true narrative because according to the research conducted mostly in the Western Cape former Model C schools, this is a true reflection of what is happening there. Black teachers and pupils are constantly put under pressure and marginalized to an extent that most of them (teachers), like the narrator, decided to quit their jobs. What is painful about this situation is that, in almost all the cases, including the facts of this narrative, the Department of Education has done absolutely nothing in a form of intervention, to solve these cases. Like other teachers undergoing the same predicament, the narrator endured the hardships for what they call "a good cause" that is for the pupils who need them. It is not easy for them either because when they talk about their situations they are driven to a point of shedding a tear or two. There is quite a massive number of people in the teaching field who would relate to this narrative, whether they are at schools, colleges or other tertiary institutions. They don't want to go public about their predicaments, and as such they would rather suffer a silent death.

This narrative helps the community in learning how to deal with discrimination. For example, as mentioned above that the case study has shown that there is quite a massive number of Black teachers subjected to discrimination in the white schools that they serve, if these teachers can submit their complaints to the government as a collective, their problems would be solved. At the same time the community can learn a lesson of diligence and perseverance from this narrative because even though the narrator did finally quit his job, he brought some changes to the school. For example, the subject was included in the examination time-table, isiXhosa as a subject was allocated its own classroom, the subject was included for prize-giving and now there are Black prefects in the school. What this means is that, if you put your mind into something and never back down, you stand a chance of reaping the fruits that you want.

4 Practices of Self-Narration: Process

4.1 Variety of Narrative Forms

The story has a variety of narrative forms. At the beginning, the story opens with a brief progressive narrative, whereby the narrator appears to be so enthusiastic about his new environment and colleagues. It didn't take him long to know the true colors of his

colleagues particularly the seniors or rather the managing team. This sudden change of attitude gave rise to the Frye's (1957) narrative form of satire, because the narrator never expected that there could still be people practising racism in the new and democratic South Africa, and after the kind of welcome they gave him when he first arrived.

The nature of the narrative is then mostly characterised by the comedy-romance narrative, because the narrator didn't accept everything as dished-out to him by his colleagues, he dealt with them and succeeded most of the times. Just like the first impression he had about the school and his colleagues, this also did not last long. The ending of the narrative is characterised by the tragic narrative because the narrator finally gave up of all his endeavours, particularly after not getting the support and protection from his superiors, that is the provincial Department of Education.

4.2 Micro Narrative

This is a narration of events that have taken place in a very short period of time, almost three years to be exact. This span makes this story a micro narrative, and it also forms part of an autobiography.

4.3 Nesting of Narrative

There is no nesting of narratives because there is only one narrative.

5 Pragmatics of Self-Narrative

5.1 Regressive Narrative / Tragic Narrative

This narrative serves a social function in that it solicits both sympathy and empathy from the readers or the audience and even from those that are dancing to the same tune of racial discrimination in their workplaces.

Another purpose that this narrative serves is the compensatory function because being empathic and sympathetic to this narrative, motivates others into doing all they could to challenge, improve and bring a positive change to their situations or environments.

6 Interknitting of Identities

6.1 Moral Evaluation

His Black counterparts and community evaluate the narrator as a very courageous person and a leader, whereas his White superiors consider him a rebel and a threat to their policies.

6.2 Interminable Negotiation

The identity of the narrator as a courageous, tolerant and an assertive person has been witnessed by his fellow Black teachers and tolerated and schemed against by the purely White school management team. When all has failed and with little or no intervention from the Department of Education, the narrator then decided to resign, based on the isiXhosa idiom "engakhaliyo iyayekwa" (if a cow doesn't cry when being slaughtered for traditional activity or function, then you let it go).

7 Emotions

- (a) At the beginning, the narrator-experienced emotions of excitement, that it was a different world after all, where all are equal irrespective of race, color, language and gender. This feeling was short-lived because his colleagues and the superiors couldn't conceal their true colors for long, and the narrator was somehow disgusted by that, racism in particular. As the stunts of racism escalated, so was his anger and hostility towards their policies and the system that seems to be so engrossed in fighting against transformation.
- (b) All these emotions are embedded in the culture in a way that each and every person who is or has been subjected to any kind of humiliation, is bound to be hostile towards the perpetrators.
- (c) All the attempts made by the narrator in trying to bring about change; recognition and respect towards his language isiXhosa are meaningful. Language is a true reflection of our cultures, cultures that portray and built or shape our identities. Humiliation of his language was a direct humiliation to him and all the AmaXhosa. So, the narrator was bound to be angry and hostile especially after trying everything he could to

educate his colleagues and pleading with them to stop insulting his nation via their language.

- (d) Hostility is therefore accepted in this culture under the above-mentioned circumstances, but the narrator never allowed himself to be consumed by it, instead to look on the positive side of things by resigning.

Analysis 3**The Scourge of Homophobia**

Igama lam lokuzalwa nguSean kodwa ndaziwa ngeli likaShinayne. Ndinamashumi amathathu eminyaka kwaye ke ndilifana-sini. Ndiqale ukuthetha ngokuphandle ngobuni bam xa ndandineminyaka engama-27. Kwakunzima kakhulu kodwa kwakufanele kuba ndandikruqukile okanye ndanele kukuphila ubomi obusekelwe ebuxokini okanye kubuxoki. Ndaba sisigculelo kwintsapho yam nasekuhlaleni ngokunjalo kwaye ke ngomzuzwana nje ndaba yingongoma ekuthandazwa ngayo ezicaweni, umxholo wengxoxo ezintlanganisweni zasekuhlaleni nakwezo zekhaya.

Kuthe kusakungabaziseli ziphumo zincomekayo oku, ndagxothwa ekhaya kuba ndibe sisigculelo nehlazo ebomini nasemzini wabo. Abantu babendicaphukela ngolona hlobo besenza izinto ezibonakalisa inzondo nengqumbo yabo ngobuni bam. Nangona yayindikhathaza nje le meko, ndandiziva ndikhululekile emakhamandeleni okuphila ubomi bokuzixokisa kangangeminyaka elishumi elinesithathu. Ndandide ndahambisana nawo namantombazana kuba ndifuna ukuziveza njengendoda efanayo namanye amadoda, kodwa nako oko akuzange kundikholise.

Kukho umfo endandimana ukubonana naye ngokwentlobano zesini, ekhusini ke kodwa, ogama linguReuben owaziwa kakhulu ngeli likaRuby. Ngoko ke, ndithe ndisakugxothwa ekhaya ndaya kuhlala naye kodwa akubanga xesha lide ndihlala apho kuba ndathi ndisakufika ndafumanisa ukuba uRuby lo unomnye umfo ancuma naye kwaye ke ehlalisana naye. Zange andixelele ngale into, nto leyo ethetha ukuba obam naye ubuhlobo ibiyinto nje yokudlalisa kuye kuba unomntu wakhe amthandayo nahlala naye. Yandikhathaza kakhulu le into yokubhanxwa nguRuby kangangokuba ndazixelela ukuba kufuneka ndifune indawo ndihambe ndiyokuzihlalela. Kwisithuba nje senyanga ndayifumana indawo ekuyeyam ndaphuma kwaRuby, kwaye konke kwandihambela kakuhle ndaqalisa nam ukuziva ndonwabile de kwafika uRuby nomntu wakhe nezinye iitshomi zabo ezikwangamafana-sini bezokundenzela umvula-ndlu.

Kwavele kwacaca mhlophe nje ukuba abamelwane bam ayibonwabisanga le yokubona kudakasa amafana-sini endaweni yabo, ukanti nale yokufumanisa ukuba kanti ndihleli nje nam ndilifana-sini. Ndabizwa ngabaphathi bendawo yohuhlala bendichazela ukuba

kufuneka ndiphumile kuba abantu abafana nam abavumelekanga kwezo flats zabo. Ndalulwa olu udabi ndaluphumelela kunjalonje, kodwa izinto zaya zisiba mbi ndiqhekelwa ndlu, kophulwe nefenitshala yam, nam ndiseso sigculelo sokunyhukulwa. Ndiyichazile le nto kwabomthetho ndatsho ke ndafumana ukhuseleko, ngaloo ndlela ndabe ndifumana ukuphefumla nangona emsebenzini kwakusafana nakuqala, ingakumbi emadodeni. Into eyayimnandi emsebenzini yile yokuba kwakungekho nto babenokuyenza kuba ndandingomnye wabaphathi, kodwa oko akuzange kuyenze imeko ibe yeginyis'amathe. Ukuwenza mafutshane ke, ndandinonxunguphalo olumandla, ndinomvandedwa nentandabuzo eninzi. Indlela endandizisindisa ngayo kwezi ngcingane yayinye kuphela, ukusebenza nzima kude kuhambe ubusuku nangeempelaveki kwakunye nokusela ngamandla kwigqabi likaLonji imihla ngemihla.

Kwindawo nganye endihamba kuyo ndandifumana ukujongwa ngamehlo abhalwe ukungcola nenzondo, ndithukwa nokuthukwa ngabantu endingazange ndibolame ngaphambili. Qho isenzeka le nto ndandiye ndigqibe kwelokuba kungenxa yobuni bam. Kwakunzima nditsho mna nokuya kufuna iintwana-ntwana zendlu yam nezokutya kangangokuba ndehla esiqwini ngendlela emangalisayo. Ndathi apha ngenye impela-veki ndindwendwele eMthatha apho ndizalwa khona, ndaya kwivenkile ekuthiwa kukwa-Spar ndiyokufuna iintwana-ntwana nje ezithile. Ndithe ukufika kwam kweliya cala lineentlobo-ntlobo zeenyembezi zikaVitoliya, ndafika kukho abafo abathathu abonela nje kukundithi krwaqu ngamabi wona amehlo la baphethuka bahamba bengakuthathanga oko bebekuyele apho. Ndithe xa ndifika ekubhataleni, ngelishwa lethamsanqa kwathi kanti ndifike ndema emva kwaba bafo, nalapho ibe seso bewushiya umgca beshwabula, kweli ityeli ngamadoda alalanayo. Wawungagqiba uthi inokuba ndiyanuka mntwabantu.

NgoJulayi, umhla wama-27 ndivela emsebenzini, ndagqitha kwindawo yotywala ndiyokuzifunela ivodka yam, kwakusele kulicala emva kweyesibhozo ebusuku ngelo xesha, ndaphawula izixhiliphothi zamadoda abufana nala aphakamisa iintsimbi kwaye kucaca ukuba athetha ngam. Ukufumana abantu bezixakekise ngam kwakungeyonto isisikhwasilima leyo, yayisisonka sam semihla ngemihla eso. Ngoko ke, yayingandikhathazi.

Ingxuba kaxaka ke iqale apho kupakwa khona iimoto kulaa ndawo ndihlala kuyo. Ndithe ndisaxakeke nokukhupha ubumpahlana bam emotweni, suke kwagaleleka iimoto ezimbini ze4x4 ze-Isuzu, enye yapaka kanye apha ecaleni kwam enye yaza yapaka ngasemva.

Ngoko nangoko kwaphuma izigantsontso zamadoda alithoba phakathi kwawo kukho la bendiwabone kulaa ndawo kuthengiswa kuyo utywala. Aphume eggotsa engqale ngqo kum endithuka ngobuni bam, egalela ngeentonga ayeziphethe, abanye bendikhaba ngaloo maquza babewanxibile. Babesongela ngelithi baza kundinika isifundo endingasokuze ndisilibale. Ngalo umzuzu ndandingaseva nezo ntlungu ngaphandle nje kwezithonga ezazigalela. Kuthe kusenjalo ndeva ngezona ntlungu ingathi ndiyaqhaqheka, benyhala into apha kum ngasemva, ngoko nangoko zacima izibane.

Ndithe apho ndiphaphama khona ndaxelelwa ukuba ndisesibhedlele bendikwicandelo labagula kakhulu (ICU) kangangeeveki ezintathu, ndaphinda ndahlala apho esibhedlele isithuba seeveki ezine. Ndandingakwazi nokuthini nokuhlala oku, ukutya kona ndandifumana izinto eziselwayo kuphela. Ndandingasakwazi nokucinga into eyiyo, ndinomsindo ongazenzisiyo ngemeko esiphila phantsi kwayo ukanti nakum ngokunjalo. Ndandizicaphukela ndibe ndingasazi isizathu esibangela ukuba ndizicaphukele. Inye into endandiyicinga, ikukufa njengesona sisombululo kwinkxwaleko endandiphila phantsi kwayo.

Udadewethu wafika wahlala nam kangangenyanga, kwaye ke izinto nobomi ngokunjalo babonakala buthembisa nangona kwakungasafani nakuqala nje, kodwa ithemba lalilikhulu. Into encomekayo ngeso sihelegu sandehlelayo, kukuba amathathu kula madoda andonzakalisayo abanjwa agwetywa, kodwa akuzange kube nakho ukususa ihlazo endalifumanayo nokuthotywa isidima okungako. Kuko konke oko ke ndingatsho kuwe ndithi ndilufezile ugqatso ndaliphumelela nelo idabi.

Umbalisi weli bali uye wasutywa kukufa ngokuzibulala emva kwenyanga ethe wabelana nathi ngamava obomi bakhe.

My birth name is Sean but I am now known as Shinayne. I am 30 years old and I am gay. I came out of the closet at the age of 27. It was difficult for me, tough actually, but I just had enough of living a lie. I was ostracised by my family and the community at large. I became the prayer theme in our church, a subject of discussion in social and community gatherings and also in extended family meetings.

When all that failed, my family wanted me out of their house and lives. Everybody hated me and was very malicious. I was hurting but felt relieved at the same time, because for

almost 13 years, I have been living a lie. I even went to an extent of having a girlfriend or two just to prove a point, but I was never content. I was always sneaking out for almost two years just for a quick "hanky panky" if u know what I mean with a friend Rueben popularly known by the name of Ruby. So, when I left home I went to stay with him but not for long because he had a stay-in boyfriend that I never knew of before and all of a sudden I was just a friend in distress to him. I did feel betrayed and used mostly, I then decided to get my own place and move out as fast as I could. I moved to another complex and all seemed well and fine until Ruby, his boyfriend and some of their gay friends decided to surprise me with a house-warming party. It was obvious that my neighbours were not happy with it, not just the party and the noise, but with the fact that I was gay. I only got to learn about the complex's regulations, infact one restriction that gays were not allowed in the complex as a result of that I was given a notice to move out. After winning the case in court against that, terrible things started happening such as break-ins, vandalism of my property and personal attacks or crimen injuria so to speak. I obtained a court order or interdict; one of the two and all subsided, at least at the complex. At the workplace I was still discriminated against especially by the malefolk. There was absolutely nothing they could do about my "situation" according to them because in reality I am not a "situation" dear- because I was well educated and a major part of the management team, but that did not make things easier or better.

The long and short of it is that I was deeply stressed, lonely and very confused, and there was only one way, to drown my sorrows- long hours at the office and vodka everyday. Wherever I go, I would get these strange and nasty looks and would sometimes be insulted by people I don't even know, and I had always assumed that it was because of my sexual orientation. It was difficult even to make my shopping as a result I lost lot of weight. I remember this one time at the Myezo Spar in Umtata my hometown; I went there to visit a very good friend of mine for a weekend. I went to the liquor department and there were three guys there when they saw me they looked disgusted by me and left without taking what they wanted. When I got at the teller, I was coincidentally behind them in the queue, and even there they just moved out of the queue making remarks about "faggots". It was as if I was stinking rotten.

Now, on a Friday of the 27th of July this year (2004) on my way to my place from the office, I passed by the bottle-store as usual to buy myself vodka. It was almost 20:30 by that time. I remember seeing these four huge guys at the store which you would mistake for

wrestlers, wearing leather clothes and shoes more like hiking boots, and they were looking at me evidently talking about me, but that did not bother me because it was my daily bread.

*The problem started in our underground parking when I was busy taking my stuff out of the car, a 4x4 Isuzu twin-cab pulled up next to my car and another one behind my car. Immediately, all doors flung open and among the guys who stepped out of those 4x4s were the guys I saw earlier at the bottle-store. They started hailing insults about my sexuality and how are they going to teach me a lesson I will never forget for the rest of my life. There were nine of them and they started beating me up with baseball bats, kicking me in the face, head and almost everywhere. Even though I was almost passed out, I do remember feeling something that was being shoved in my *** you know. I have never felt such excruciating pains in my entire life and all the systems immediately shut down.*

When I woke up, I was told that I have been in ICU (Intensive Care Unit) for three weeks and I stayed four more weeks in hospital. I couldn't do a thing, sit up or even eat, I only took liquids. I was numb, disorientated and angry not only at the system, but with myself too and I don't know why. I just hated myself and all I could think of was death or dying as the answer to my miserable life.

My sister came to be and stay with me for a month and for a while things and life seemed promising, but that too was short lived. The only good thing about this is that three of the guys who did this to me were arrested, but that was not good enough to take the stigma and humiliation away from me. But, I survived and I still continue surviving.

NB. The narrator committed suicide a month after this interview.

1 The Structure of the Narrative Account

1.1 Selection of Events in the Account: Plot Structure

This narrative relates to the experiences of a young man who through disclosing his sexuality to his family and to his community has been exposed to great discrimination, victimisation and humiliation. There are a number of events that are connected through

this theme of homosexuality and all these events are organised in a pattern that results to a plot structure.

There are basically three events that constitute this story, and the central event being the disclosure of one's sexuality and its circumstances. His fears that made him to keep the secret all to himself for almost thirteen years were manifested after coming out of the closet and things got more tougher until his untimely death.

This whole narrative actually relies on the narrator's emotional experience.

The First Event

In this event the narrator discloses that he is gay and has known about that for almost thirteen years. He also confesses that for the past two years he has been secretly seeing another man whilst dating women for the public approval purposes and acceptance.

"Kwakunzima kakhulu, kodwa ndandanele kukuphila ubomi obusekelwe ebuxokini okanye kubuxoki".

(It was very difficult but I just had enough of living a lie).

By the time he made this decision he really had no idea of what he was putting himself up to. He knew that people would feel indifferent or even hate him, but not as malicious as they became- trying to kill him.

Narrative of the First Event

Igama lam lokuzalwa nguSean kodwa ndaziwa ngeli likaShinayne. Ndinamashumi amathathu eminyaka kwaye ke ndilifana-sini. Ndiqale ukuthetha ngokuphandle ngobuni bam xa ndandineminyaka engama-27. Kwakunzima kakhulu kodwa kwakufanele kuba ndandikruqukile okanye ndanele kukuphila ubomi obusekelwe ebuxokini okanye kubuxoki. Ndaba sisigculele kwintsapho yam nasekuhlaleni ngokunjalo kwaye ke ngomzuzwana nje ndaba yingongoma ekuthandazwa ngayo ezicaweni, umxholo wengxoxo ezintlanganisweni zasekuhlaleni nakwezo zekhaya.

Kuthe kusakungabaziseli ziphumo zincomekayo oku, ndagxothwa ekhaya kuba ndibe sisigculelo nehlazo ebomini nasemzini wabo. Abantu babendicaphukela ngolona hlobo besenza izinto ezibonakalisa inzondo nengqumbo yabo ngobuni bam. Nangona

yayindikhathaza nje le meko, ndandiziva ndikhululekile emakhamandeleni okuphila ubomi bokuzixokisa kangangeminyaka elishumi elinesithathu. Ndandide ndahambisana nawo namantombazana kuba ndifuna ukuziveza njengendoda efanayo namanye amadoda, kodwa nako oko akuzange kundikholise.

My birth name is Sean but I am now known as Shinayne. I am 30 years old and I am gay. I came out of the closet at the age of 27. It was difficult for me, tough actually, but I just had enough of living a lie. I was ostracised by my family and the community at large. I became the prayer theme in our church, a subject of discussion in social and community gatherings and also in extended family meetings.

When all that failed, my family wanted me out of their house and lives. Everybody hated me and was very malicious. I was hurting but felt relieved at the same time, because for almost 13 years of my life, I have been living a lie. I even went to an extent of having a girlfriend or two just to prove a point, but I was never content.

The Second Event

Even though the narrator mentions feeling relieved for finally telling everybody about his sexuality, the world out there was a totally different scenario from that he hoped it would or set for himself. His very first experience was that of betrayal by his secret lover Ruby*, who has obviously been cheating on his live-in or stay-in boyfriend with Shinayne. Again, even though he knew how people felt about gays, dealing with it was not easy and as a result he ended up avoiding going to public places and doing his shopping. All this posed a great danger to his health, mentally and physically. He was alone, lonely and miserable and to run away from that, he buried himself in his office with hard work and consuming lot of vodka.

Narrative of the Second Event

Kukho umfo endandimana ukubonana naye ngokwentlobano zesini, ekhusini ke kodwa, ogama linguReuben nangona esaziwa kakhulu ngeli likaRuby.

Ngoko ke, ndithe ndisakugxothwa ekhaya ndaya kuhlala naye kodwa akubanga xesha lide ndihlala apho kuba ndathi ndisakufika ndafumanisa ukuba uRuby lo unomnye umfo

ancuma nayo kwaye ke ehlalisana naye. Zange andixelele ngale into, nto leyo ethetha ukuba obam naye ubuhlobo ibiyinto nje yokudlalisa kuye kuba unomntu wakhe amthandayo nahlala naye. Yandikhathaza kakhulu le into yokubhanxwa nguRuby kangangokuba ndazixelela ukuba kufuneka ndifune indawo ndihambe ndiyokuzihlalela. Kwisithuba nje senyanga ndayifumana indawo ekuyeyam ndaphuma kwaRuby, kwaye konke kwandihambela kakuhle ndaqalisa nam ukuziva ndonwabile de kwafika uRuby nomntu wakhe nezinye iitshomi zabo ezingamafana-sini bezokundenzela umvula-ndlu.

Kwavele kwacaca mhlophe nje ukuba abamelwane bam ayibonwabisanga le yokubona kudakasa amafana-sini endaweni yabo, ukanti nale yokufumanisa ukuba kanti ndihleli nje nam ndilifana-sini. Ndabizwa ngabaphathi bendawo bendichazela ukuba kufuneka ndiphumile kuba abantu abafana nam abavumelekanga kwezo flats zabo. Ndalilwa eli dabi ndaluphumelela kunjalonje, kodwa izinto zaya zisiba mbi, ndiqhekezelwa ndlu kophulwe nefenitshala yam, nam ndiseso sigculelo sokunyhukulwa. Ndiyichazile le nto kwabomthetho ndatsho ke ndafumana ukhuseleko, ngaloo ndlela ndabe ndifumana ukuphefumla kodwa emsebenzini kwabe kusafana nakuqala, ingakumbi emadodeni. Into eyayimnandi emsebenzini yile yokuba kwakungekho nto babenokuyenza kuba ndandingomnye wabaphathi, kodwa oko akuzange kuyenze imeko ibe yeginyis'amathe.

Ukuwenza mafutshane ke, ndandinonxunguphalo olumandla, ndinomvandedwa nentandabuzo eninzi. Indlela endandizisindisa ngayo kwezi ngcingane yayinye kuphela, ukusebenza nzima kude kuhambe ubusuku nangeempelaveki kwakunye nokusela ngamandla kwigqabi likaLonji imihla ngemihla.

Kwindawo nganye endihamba kuyo ndandifumana ukujongwa ngamehlo abhalwe ukungcola nenzondo, ndithukwa nokuthukwa ngabantu endingazange ndibolame ngaphambili. Qho isenzeka le nto ndandiye ndigqibe kwelokuba kungenxa yobuni bam. Kwakunzima nditsho mna nokuya kufuna iintwana-ntwana zendlu yam nezokutya kangangokuba ndehla esiqwini ngendlela emangalisayo. Ndathi apha ngenye impela-veki ndindwendwele eMthatha apho ndizalwa khona, ndaya kwivenkile ekuthiwa kukwa-Spar ndiyokufuna iintwana-ntwana nje ezithile. Ndithe ukufika kwam kweliya cala lineentlobo-ntlobo zeenyembezi zikaVitoliya, ndafika kukho abafo abathathu abonela nje kukundithi krwaqu ngamabi wona amehlo la baphethuka bahamba bengakuthathanga oko bebekuyele apho. Ndithe xa ndifika ekubhataleni, ngelishwa lethamsanqa kwathi kanti ndifike ndema emva kwaba bafo, nalapho ibe seso bewushiya umgca beshwabula, kweli ityeli ngamadoda alalanayo. Wawungagqiba uthi inokuba ndiyanuka mntwabantu.

I was always sneaking out for almost two years just for a quick "hanky panky" if u know what I mean, with a friend named Rueben popularly known as Ruby. So, when I left home I went to stay with him but not for long because he had a stay-in boyfriend that I never knew of before and all of a sudden I was just a friend in distress to him. I did feel betrayed and used mostly, I then decided to get my own place and move out as fast as I could. I moved to another complex and all seemed well and fine until Ruby, his boyfriend and some of their gay friends decided to surprise me with a house-warming party. It was obvious that my neighbours were not happy with it, not just the party and the noise, but with the fact that I was gay. I only got to learn about the complex's regulations, infact one restriction that gays were not allowed in the complex as a result of that I was given a notice to move out. After winning the case in court against this, terrible things started happening such as break-ins, vandalism of my property and personal attacks or crimen injuria so to speak. I obtained a court order or interdict; one of the two and all subsided, at least at the complex.

At the workplace I was still discriminated against especially by the malefolk. There was absolutely nothing they could do about my "situation" according to them because in reality I am not a "situation" dear- because I was well educated and a major part of the management team, but that did not make things easier or better.

The long and short of it is that I was deeply stressed, lonely and very confused, and there was only one way drowning my sorrows- long hours at the office and vodka everyday.

Wherever I go, I would get these strange and nasty looks and would sometimes be insulted by people I don't even know, and I had always assumed that it was because of my sexual orientation. It was difficult even to make my shopping as a result I lost lot of weight. I remember this one time at the Myezo Spar in Umtata my hometown; I went there to visit a very good friend of mine for a weekend. I went to the liquor department and there were three guys there when they saw me they looked disgusted by me and left without taking what they wanted. When I got to the teller, I was coincidentally behind them in the queue, and even there they just moved out of the queue making remarks about faggots. It was as if I was stinking rotten.

The Third Event

This is the part in which the scourge of discrimination against homosexuals takes its toll. All along the narrator has been exposed to verbal abuse and through other non-verbal cues such as nasty looks and people moving away from him, but never physically harming or assaulting him. Before this event the narrator has been trying to accept the fact that people will always treat him differently and hoping at the same time that all in due course will change. However, in this event and through the incident in this event, he came to realise that his life and people's attitudes towards him will never change hence he committed suicide.

Narrative of the Third Event

NgoJulayi, umhla wama-27 ndivela emsebenzini, ndagqitha kwindawo yotywala ndiyokuzifunela ivodka yam, kwakusele kulicala emva kweyesibhozo ebusuku ngelo xesha, ndaphawula izixhiliphothi zamadoda abufana nala aphakamisa iintsimbi kwaye kucaca ukuba athetha ngam. Ukufumana abantu bezixakekise ngam kwakungeyonto isisikhwasilima leyo, yayisisonka sam semihla ngemihla eso. Ngoko ke, yayingandikhathazi.

Ingxuba kaxaka ke iqale apho kupakwa khona iimoto kula ndawo ndihlala kuyo. Ndithe ndisaxakeke nokukhupha ubumpahlana bam emotweni, suke kwagaleleka iimoto ezimbini ze4x4 ze-Isuzu, enye yapaka kanye apha ecaleni kwam enye yaza yapaka ngasemva. Ngoko nangoko kwaphuma izigantsontso zamadoda alithoba phakathi kwawo kukho la bendiwabone kulaa ndawo kuthengiswa kuyo utywala. Aphume egqotsile ukuza kum endithuka ngobuni bam, egalela ngeentonga ayeziphethe, abanye bendikhaba ngaloo magquza babewanxibile. Babesongela ngelithi baza kundinika isifundo endingasokuze ndisilibale, ngalo umzuzu ndandingaseva nezo ntlungu ngaphandle nje kwezithonga ezazigalela. Kuthe kusenjalo ndeva ngezona ntlungu ingathi ndiyaqhaqheka, benyhala into apha kum ngasemva, ngoko nangoko zacima izibane. Ndithe apho ndiphaphama khona ndaxelelwa ukuba ndisesibhedlele bendikwicandelo labagula kakhulu (ICU) kangangeeveki ezintathu, ndaphinda ndahlala apho esibhedlele isithuba seeveki ezine. Ndandingakwazi nokuthini nokuhlala oku, ukutya kona ndandifumana izinto eziselwayo kuphela. Ndandingasakwazi nokucinga into eyiyo, ndinomsindo ongazenzisiyo kwimeko esiphila phantsi kwaye ukanti nakum ngokunjalo. Ndandizicaphukela ndibe ndingasazi

isizathu esibangela ukuba ndizicaphukele. Inye into endandiyicinga, ikukufa njengesona sisombululo kwinkxwaleko endandiphila phantsi kwayo.

Udadewethu wafika wahlala nam kangangenyanga, kwaye ke izinto nobomi ngokunjalo babonakala buthembisa nangona kwakungasafani nakuqala nje, kodwa ithemba lalilikhulu. Into encomekayo ngeso sihelegu sandehlelayo, kukuba amathathu kula madoda andonzakalisayo abanjwa agwetywa, kodwa akuzange kube nakho ukususa ihlazo endalifumanayo nokuthotywa isidima. Kuko konke oko ke ndingatsho kuwe ndithi ndilufezile ugqatso, ndaliphumelela nelo idabi.

Umbalisi weli bali uye wasutywa kukufa ngokuzibulala emva kwenyanga ethe wabelana nathi ngamava obomi bakhe.

Now, on a Friday of the 27th of July this year (2004) on my way to my place from the office, I passed by the bottle-store as usual to buy myself vodka. It was almost 20:30 by that time. I remember seeing these four huge guys at the store, which you would mistake for wrestlers, wearing leather clothes and shoes more like hiking boots, and they were looking at me evidently talking about me, but that did not bother me because it was my daily bread.

*The problem started in our underground parking when I was busy taking my stuff out of the car, a 4x4 Isuzu twin-cab pulled up next to my car and another one behind my car. Immediately, all doors flung open and among the guys who stepped out of those 4x4s were the guys I saw earlier at the bottle-store. They started hailing insults about my sexuality and how are they going to teach me a lesson I will never forget for the rest of my life. There were nine of them and they started beating me up with baseball bats, kicking me in the face, head and almost everywhere. Even though I was almost passed out, I do remember feeling something that was being shoved in my *** you know. I have never felt such excruciating pains in my entire life and all the systems immediately shut down.*

When I woke up, I was told that I have been in ICU (Intensive Care Unit) for three weeks and I stayed four more weeks in hospital. I could not do a thing, sit up or even eat, I only took liquids. I was numb, disorientated and angry- not only at the system, but with myself too and I don't know why. I just hated myself and all I could think of was death or dying as the answer to my miserable life.

My sister came to be and stay with me for a month and for a while things and life seemed promising, but that too was short lived. The only good thing about this is that three of the guys who did this to me were arrested, but that was not good enough to take the stigma and humiliation away from me. But, I survived and I still continue surviving.

NB. The narrator committed suicide a month after this interview.

1.2. Endpoint: Theme of the Narrative

The theme of this narrative is abuse of homosexuals and the acceptance of one's sexuality or sexual orientation. This narrative is also trying to point out the dangers of homophobia as the narrator gave extensive examples of this by all the community stakeholders including his own family. He is trying to point out that gays and lesbians are no different from heterosexuals and even if one feels that they are different, she or he must keep his or her opinions and beliefs to himself or herself. These lessons apply to all, be it family members, community, colleagues or strangers. These abusive attacks eventually resulted to a fatal attack on the narrator.

1.3. Ordering of Events

1.3.1. Sequence

The events are ordered in a linear sequence. The central plot of the narrative takes the first position in the narrative. In this event, the narrator discloses his sexuality to the public by admitting that he is gay. The narrator then continues to mention in detail the hardships that he came across with after coming out of the closet from his family and the public at large. He even mentions working hard for long hours and consuming a lot of liquor as the only means of running away from his miseries and discrimination. This is followed by his assault in their underground parking and the most humiliating things that were done to him by those who are homophobic. This attempt on his life leads to his hospitalisation for almost two months, which led to his suicide though no one saw it coming as he portrayed himself as a strong and courageous person who rises above it all.

1.3.2. Duration

The narrator mentions that he has known about his attraction to other boys or men at the age of seventeen and that he only came out when he was twenty-seven. He also confesses that he started experiencing life with men two years before coming out of the closet, but all the hardships and experiences of gay life took place over a period of three years. This span of time of the duration of the narrative events, makes this narrative a micro-narrative.

1.4. Stability of Identity

The narrator has a coherent identity throughout his narrative from the time he discloses his true sexuality, the discrimination and humiliation he experienced and until the time of this interview. The narrator portrays self as an irresolute character who has no firm or determined purpose. He shows signs of paranoia whereby he believes that everyone hates him because of his homosexuality. He couldn't contain these deficiencies in his character and as such things went from bad to worse. After learning of his suicide, we could then argue that the narrator was not hundred percent honest about his feelings to himself and to others. And, for that reason alone the stability of Shinayne's identity is then questionable.

1.5. Causal Linkages

The events in the narrative are causally linked. The main cause in the narrative is basically the disclosure of one's sexuality. This cause pervades the whole narrative and results in some major effects such as being discriminated against by his family and the community, being humiliated, verbally and physically assaulted.

1.6 Demarcation Signs

There are standardized demarcation signs in this narrative except for the transitional signs within the narrative such the opening of the third event through the use of the date, which somehow alerts the reader or listener that something significant happened on that date. Again, the final statement of the narrative is a typical wrap-up of a story, "I survived and I still continue surviving".

2 The Narrative Form

This is a regressive narrative, which is narrated from two interrelated episodes. At first, the narrator gives us the consequences of his declaration of being a homosexual: the problems with his family and community, the failure or collapse of his relationship with Ruby, his apartment being vandalised by the complex residents and the discrimination at his workplace. This series of eventualities then has an unvarourable result on his character. He felt deeply stressed, lonely and confused, as a result he started drinking as felt paranoid. He gave clear instances of his beliefs: he believed that people looked strangely at him. This defect in his personality and his ssexual orientation caused people to attack him and he took a very long time to recuperate from that. The arrival and support of his sister did not do him any good or the least make the situation better and endurable.

3 Self-Narrative

3.1 Relationship among Events

All the events of the narrative are connected with one another. At first the narrator discloses the fact that he is gay and that he has known about it for almost thirteen years. He also admits that he had deliberately withheld the information for fearing the public's wrath against homosexuals. Indeed, all his fears were qualified after he disclosed his sexuality and was ostracized both by his own family and the community. Being treated as an outcast was not the only thing he had to deal with, he also became the victim of assault both verbal and physical, something that led him into committing suicide. All these events continue in the narrative in this linear form.

3.2 Social Accounting

This narrative fulfils the social purpose of self-identification. The reason for this conclusion is because the narrator has finally decided to let everybody know about his sexuality or him being gay. He also confesses to the fact that he had known about his status since he was seventeen years old. Everything that happens in the narrative is actually centred around the character's or the narrator's sexuality. Those who did not identify with gays or who were against homosexuality distanced themselves from him and others became malicious towards him.

This narrative also serves the purpose of self-criticism because for some of the terrible things that happened, the narrator blamed himself that if he wasn't gay maybe they wouldn't have happened, such as his assault in their underground parking.

The narrator is also self-justifying the situation in that at the beginning, he admits to having dated women not necessarily as a cover-up move but because he felt that that was the right thing to do and also what was expected of him to do. The decision to come out of the closet was also another form of self-justification and to himself this time, because in this narrative he admitted to being a very unhappy soul for living a lie. So, in a way he felt that he had to do himself some justice and that he can only do by disclosing his sexuality.

3.3 The Narrative is True

This is a very true narrative and there is discrimination against homosexuals in the South African community to an extent that statistics show that almost all over the country, gay people are being discriminated against day in and day out. As the result homophobics and the system such as the clergy and the judiciary stop at nothing in trying to show or demonstrate their hatred towards gays and lesbians. Their marriages are deemed immoral and illegal, and they are also refused adoption rights. They are verbally, non-verbally and physically assaulted everyday. People out there are so quick to pass judgement against others and by so doing they end up unnecessarily losing a son or daughter, and a brother or sister.

This narrative will help the South African community to overcome their hatred towards homosexuals and stop discriminating against them. At the same time, this story could be perceived as a wake up call to those who are still against gays and lesbians, that things do not have to turn out the way they have with Shinayne because we are all human beings at the end of the day.

4 Practices of Self-Narration: Process

4.1 Variety of Narrative Forms

There basically one dominant narrative form in this story, that of regressive narrative. It is obvious that the narrator has been leading a hectic double-life because he was afraid of being judged and made to feel like an outcast. He mentions that "for almost thirteen years of my life I have been living a lie" and after he came out". "Everybody hated me and were very malicious". Events and his situation escalated for the worse to a point of being tragic, and the story continued on a downward movement followed by further decrements until his death.

4.2 Micro Narrative

This is a micro narrative because this personal story occurred and continued over a short period of time, almost three years to be exact and is typical of an autobiography-posthumous though.

4.3 Nesting of Narrative

There is no nesting of events here because there is only one narrative.

5 Generation of Drama

There is a sense of drama in this life narrative. The narrative is also characterised by a rapid decline of events in the regressive narrative and by so doing generating suspense and danger. For example, the narrator mentions that "on a Friday of the 27th" when he was busy taking stuff out of his car, two cars arrived one parked right next to his and the other right behind his car and the doors flung open. Immediately when one hears that or has a picture of that scene, one smells danger and is then kept in suspense anticipating a terrible thing to happen. This suspense and danger are core elements of a regressive and tragic narrative.

6 Pragmatics of Self-Narrative

6.1 Regressive-Tragic Narrative

This narrative solicits sympathy, pity and concern, because at the beginning, the narrator appears or admits to being in denial about his sexuality and when he finally decided to come out clean about it, he became a victim something which he was running away from. The tragic change that is portrayed in the narrator's story solicits motivation and compensation, sympathy, pity and concern in that knowledge about things such as mentioned in the story engenders feelings that make others feel obliged to do something about the animosity towards gays and lesbians. This somehow provides a lesson to most homophobics out there that it is just uncalled for and as such they should not be so quick in throwing or casting the first stone.

7 Interknitting of Identities

7.1 Moral Evaluation

The narrator is evaluated by his family and the community at large as a very immoral person, and as such they felt strongly that he should be ostracized. The narrator is dealt with as a subject of assault, humiliation and degradation.

7.2. Interminable Negotiation

His family and the society have known the narrator as a straight person and that was acceptable until he felt that he could not continue with living a lie. He portrayed himself as a straight man only to gain acceptance and approval of his family and that of his community, but he was never content with that hence he felt it was high time he let everyone know about his true sexual orientation. Even though this was a courageous move on his part, but he had opened a huge can or tin of worms or worse things that made him a target of homophobics and even made him more vulnerable.

7.3. Reciprocal Identities

The narrator's family and his community are instrumental in everything that the narrator has experienced, because he kept his true sexuality for almost ten years only to gain their acceptance and approval. After he had disclosed his sexuality, again it was his family and his community that marginalized him and drove him to his grave. His character was reciprocated both positively and negatively, or rather both favourably and unfavourably.

8 Emotions

- (a) Emotions of confusion, anger and despair are apparent in the narrative. The narrator has been confused as to whether to continue living a lie and misleading people into believing that he is a straight man, or coming out of the closet about his sexuality. He felt that keeping the secret was the only way of safeguarding himself against discrimination. The narrator was obviously angry especially towards himself hence he committed suicide.
- (b) Yes, such emotions are embedded within the culture in that each and every person with different sexual preferences to those stipulated by the society she or he lives in, is bound to be subjected to discrimination, indignation and humiliation. Therefore, if one is subjected to that kind of treatment, she or he is then likely to go down with depression, feelings of unworthiness and guilt that normally results in one blaming self for the unfortunate circumstances.
- (c) The emotional expressions are meaningful in that indeed after disclosing, the narrative was subjected to massive marginalisation by his community and being ostracized by his own family.
- (d) The narrator irrespective of all the terrible things that have happened and been done to him, he did not become hostile, at least not towards his perpetrators instead he tried to find means of co-habiting with them and accept their hostility towards him. The only hostility and anger he had, he vendored it towards self by committing suicide. These emotions are acceptable under the mentioned circumstances.

Analysis 4

The Aftermath of Child Abuse and Molestation

NdinguZenobia, ndineminyaka engama-34 kwaye ndilinxila. Abantu bayakuthanda ke ukusoloko befig'aintshiya okanye beshwacel'amabunzi qho xa ndizichaza ukuba ndilinxanwa. Asikuko ke nokuba ndiyazingca okanye ndiyakonwabela ukuba linxila, kuloko oku bekuyeyona ndlela ndiyaziyo yokuzifihla kwiinkxwaleko neenzima zeli hlabathi. Ngawo lo mzuzu ndiziva ndinochulumanco ukuvakalisa ukuba ekugqibeleni kukho into endiyenzayo ngako oko.

Ekukhuleni kwam, ndingumntwanana bendizungezwa ziimvakalelo zokuba ngumntu ongenaxabiso, ongelolutho nokungasazi esona sizathu senza ukuba umama wam angandithandi kangaka. Ndandihlala ke ngoko ndinolangazelelo lokufika kukaLwesihlanu, mini leyo utata wayedla ngokufika ngayo esuka emsebenzini nanjengoko wayexelenga kude nekhaya. Ndandifumana impatho efanayo naleyo yenkosazana xa ekhona utata kwaye ke le mpatho ndandiye ndiyifumane nalapho kumama into ke leyo eyayindikhwankqisa maxa wambi.

Oku kuqhubekile de ndaba neminyaka elishumi elinesibini apho izinto ziqale ukuba maxongo nangakumbi, utata egulela oogqirha nezicaka esibhedlele. Ndandingasenaye ke ngoku umntu ondibiza nkosazana ukanti nalowo undiqinesikisa ngekamva eliqaqambileyo, indim othe ngcu phaya phezu kwento zonke nelizwe ngokubanzi. Uye wasweleka utata emva kweenyanga ezintathu egula. Akuzange kubekho mntu undithuthuzelayo novelana nam, kwakungathi andibonakali ndifana nje nomoya. Kungalo eli lixa apho ndafumanisa ukuba kanti lo mntu ndimbiza ngokuba ngumama wam akanguye, oyena mama wam wasweleka efumana mna lo. Nangona zazibuhlungu ezi ndaba kodwa zazisichaza isizathu esenza ukuba umama lo andichaphukele kangaka.

Imeko yasekhaya yaya isiba mbi nangakumbi kwabe kungekho nto ndandinokuyenza ngayo nanjengoko kwakungekho bani endandinokubalekela kuye. Ndandingazi zizalwane zimbi ngaphandle komama lo endihlala naye, ndingenazo nezo nkukacha ngomama wam owandizalayo, into endandiyazi ngaye kukuba wasweleka ezala mna lo. Nokuba ndandinokuzincama ndimbuze umama lo kwakungekho ncedo ndandinokulufumana kuba

naye wayedla ngokushwabula maxa wambi ngelithi ukuba ebebazi “abantu bakulonyoko” wam ebenokwahlukana nolu xanduva lundim njengophanyazo lweliso.

Emva nje kweminyaka emibini utata eswelekile umama lo uye watshata nomnye umntu ongunoteksi, besele ndineminyaka ephantse yaba lishumi elinesihlanu ngoko. Le ndoda iye yazokuhlala nathi apha emzini katata. Ndandingamthandi tu lo mntu naye ndimazi ukuba akandithandi kwaye sobabini singakwazi ukuzifihla iimvakalelo zenzondo omnye komnye. Ngeenyangana nje ezintathu lo mntu elapha, zaqala ukwenzeka izinto ezona zakhe zaba mbi.

Bobabini babengala aphume izandla amanxila kunga bayakhuphisana. Wayesithi ke xa ayotyiweyo okanye ethe natya kukunxila umama lo, achwechwe umshologu omdala ukuza egumbini lam afike andidlwengule andithembise ngokundibulala ukuba nje ndikhe ndayithetha le nto kuye nabani na. Wayede athi nokuba ndingayithetha, umama lo akasokuze andikholelwe kuloko uya kusuke amncendise ekundibulaleni. Ndandikukholelwa oko kuba naye umama wayengandifuni nyhani, wayehleli nje nam kuba engenacebo limbi. Ngeso sizathu ke ndayitshixela kum ngaphakathi le mbandezelo, ndanyamezela ukuba sisigculelo seso sibhovu-bhovu sesidlwengu. Ndithe ndisiba neminyaka elishumi elinesithandathu ndabe ndisiya ngamandla ebhotileni yeenyembezi zikaVitoliya kwaye lo tata engonqeni ukundithengela utywala de wandifaka nakulo mkhuba wecuba labathwa.

Ndiliphumelele ibanga leshumi xa ndineminyaka engama-19 ndaze ndaya eUnitra (iDyunivesithi yaseTranskei) ndiyokwenza izifundo zobugqirha (MBCHB). Le yinto endandisoloko ndiyifuna kwathi kanti notata unduluke ewenzile amalungiselelo okuba ndiphumeze amaphupha am ngokwezicwangciso ezisegqwetheni lakhe. Nangona ndiphumile kula nkxwaleko yasekhaya, andikwazanga kuyeka ukusela, ukuwutshaya umya ukanti nokulala nayo nayiphi na indoda ethe yafuna ukulala nam kwaye ke ndandingaboni nto isisikhwasilima kuloo nto. Ukanti bekusithi nokuba ayiphindanga ize kundibona indoda leyo ndingaboni nto igwenxa nephosakeleyo kulo nto kuba ukusetyenziswa ngokwesini ibiyinto ebufana nesithethe kum.

Ndiqhube kakuhle kakhulu nezifundo zam, ndiphumelela emagqabini, ukanti ke andizange ndiphinde ndiluthi cakatha olwam ekhaya oko ndahamba ngala mhla ndisiya eUnitra.

Ngexesha leeholide bendidla ngokuhamba ndiyohlala nabahlobo ndisebenzise imali ebendiyifumana inyanga nenyanga ngokwezicwangciso zikatata wam.

Imini eyona yakha yamyoli ebomini bam yimini esasithweswa ngayo izidanga apho ndathi ndafumana esona siphso, imoto esuka kutata ithengwe ligqwetha lakhe ngokomyolelo wakhe. Ndonwaba ngolona hlobo. Umama lo kunye nezuma lomyeni wakhe, zange babonakale nangotshengele.

Andizange ndiyeke ukuyotywa nangona besendingugqirha nje, akukho nto ndiyifunayo ndingakwazi kuyifumani kungekho nandawo ndingakwazi ukufikelela kuyo endifunayo ukufika kuyo. Kodwa konke oko akunakulinganiswa nesidima sam kunye nobutsha bam obohluthwa kum ngenkohlakalo. Abantu abaninzi xa bendijongile basabona laa Zenobia waseMakerere- iUnitra ukutsho oko kuba sasiyibiza ngolo hlobo. Ndithi ke basabona laa Zenobia unesimilo esithe saa. Akukho nanye kwiitshomi zam ezingabafana endingazange ndilale nayo kuba ndandingafuni ukulahlekelwa bubuhlobo nazo, kwaye ndandiyazi le into yokunikezela ngomzimba wam iyeyona ndlela abanokundamkela ngayo. Ngaxeshanye, abahlobo bam abangamantombazana babengamanxila nje afanayo nam, bekwatshaya nentsangu kwaye ke ukufumaneka kwezo zinto kwakuxhomekeke apha kum. Ndandiyazi mhlophe kunjalo nje ukuba ndandisengwa ndijongwa njengomthombo wemali, kodwa oko ndandikuxolele egameni nje lokuba kuthiwe ndinabantu abangabam abaya kuhlala besecaleni kwam.

Njengoko besenditshilo, impilo nobomi bam abundonwabisi kwaye ndiyazi ukuba akekho omnye umntu onokuzisa utshintsho ebomini bam ngaphandle kwam. Ndizimisele ekuguquleni impilo yam ibe yencomekayo, yiyo loo nto ndithathe isigqibo sokuba ndihambe ezi ntlanganiso zakwa AA (Alcoholics Anonymous). Lide ixesha ndikhombe umnwe obek'ityala kumama lo wam kunye nomyeni wakhe, nangona ndingetsho nje ukuba bamsulwa kuba ke eneneni abasokuze babe msulwa, kodwa ndiyayazi into yokuba umntu onokwenza ubomi bam bube bobo bungumzekelo nakwabanye, ndim kuphela. Ukuba kwenzeka ntoni ukuze kube nje, akusenantsingiselo kakhulu ngoku, okuthethayo kukuba ndingumntu oyintoni nonaliphi na igalelo elizweni. Kungoko ke ndigqibe kwelokuba mandiguqule ubomi bam kuqala ukuze ndikwazi ukuzisa inguqu kubomi babanye.

My name is Zenobia, I am 34 years old and I am an alcoholic. People always flinch or cringe whenever I say the last part of my introduction, that of being an alcoholic. It's not as*

if I am proud of or enjoy being an alcoholic, but it was the only thing I could use to hide or run away from my demons both from my childhood and my adult life. Today I am really glad and proud to announce that I am finally doing something about it.

As a child, I have been haunted by the feelings of unworthiness and not knowing why my mother hated me. I used to look forward to Fridays when my father comes home from work as he was working away from home. When he was around I always got the Princess kind of treatment even from my cruel mother. Her behaviour used to confuse me a lot as young as I was.

This continued until I was 12 years old when things started getting worse, with my father being critically ill and confined in hospital. No one was calling me Princess anymore or assuring me of a brighter future with me on top of the world. Three months later my father passed away. No one sympathised with me; it was as if I did not exist and that was the time I learnt or discovered that my real mother died giving birth to me, and that this one was my stepmother. Somehow, that explained the reason why she hated me so much.

The situation at home got worse day in and day out and there was nothing I could do about it, as I had no one to turn to or run to. I didn't know any other family (extended) members or relatives for that matter and I had no information about my real mother's family or background, all I knew was that she died giving birth to me. I really blamed myself for that and I don't know why. I could not ask my mother as she used to mention that if she knew my real mother's family, she would get rid of this burden (that is me) at the wink of an eye.

She got married eighteen months after my father's death to a taxi-driver, and by that time I was almost fifteen years old. This man moved in with us, in my father's house and I did not like him as much as he did not like me. We couldn't hide our hatred towards one another and within just three months terrible things started happening. They were both heavy drinkers and when my stepmother has passed out, her husband would sneak into my room fondle with me and then rape me. He promised to kill me if I told or even hint about this to anyone, and even alleged that if I did mention it my stepmother would never believe me- instead she would hate me even more and help him to kill me. That was true and as a result I kept my mouth shut while he continued entertaining himself with my body. By the

time I was sixteen, I was a heavy drinker already and this man used to buy me booze and started me on marijuana.

I passed my matric at the age of nineteen and went to Unitra (the University of Transkei) to do my MBCHB, because that is what I've always wanted to do and my father had made a provision for that through his lawyer. Even there, I never stopped drinking and sleeping around with men was not such a big deal, and I was not bothered if a man never made a follow-up on me. Being used as a sex object by men especially those closest to me and drinking it off was a norm to me.

I progressed well with my studies and I never set my foot back to my so-called home since the day I left for the University. During holidays I would go with friends and live on my allowance. On my graduation day, I received a car as a present from my late father arranged or organized by his lawyer per his request or will. That was the happiest day of my life since my father's death, and I cried in a very long time wishing for him to come back to me and celebrate this achievement with me. My so-called mother and her husband didn't make an appearance and I am sure they were drunk as usual.

I continued hitting the bottle. Yes, I am a doctor now and I have and can afford anything I want, but all that is not worth my dignity and my youth which I lost through cruelty. I know that most people when looking at me they still see that loose Zenobia from Makerere- as we used to call Unitra. I slept with almost all my male friends because that was the only way I knew of making people love and accept or rather stick with me. Almost all my female friends were heavy drinkers, smoking dagga and I used to buy those for them, by doing so then they will stick with me all the time. I knew they were using me too, but that did not bother me that much so long as I have them by my side, for companionship.

I am not happy with the way things were or are with me or my life and I know that no one else but me could change that- put an end to it, sort of rewrite the history. This is basically the reason why I am attending the AA meetings. I have been blaming my stepmother and her husband for the way things turned out with me, and to a certain extent they both are accountable but, it is only me who can put an end to it all.

1 The Structure of the Narrative Account

1.1 Selection of Events in the Account: Plot Structure

This narrative relates to the experiences of a young woman who as a defenceless child has been exposed to abuse, tragic loss and victimisation. There are various events that are connected through this core element of abuse and the manner in which they are organised, results to the plot structure of the narrative.

The narrative therefore consists of six events. In the first event the narrator confesses to being an alcoholic. The second event deals with the narrator's flashbacks whereby she shares her memories or thoughts of unworthiness and being hated by her mother as young as she was and not knowing the reason why she was not loved by her. The third event, which is also the possible central event of the narrative, is her tragic loss of her father at the age of twelve years. In the process of her mourning she also discovered that her real mother died when she was born. The fourth event is an extension of the third event and is concerned with her molestation and rape by her stepmother's husband, which led to her alcohol and drug addiction. The fourth event deals with her tertiary life and how she conducted her life. The final event is when the narrator decides to change or actually looking forward to life and to attending the AA (Alcoholics Anonymous) classes or meetings.

The First Event

In this event, the narrator shares with us her background and confesses to being an alcoholic

Narrative of the First Event

NdinguZenobia, ndineminyaka engama-34 kwaye ndilinxila. Abantu bayakuthanda ke ukusoloko befig'iiintshiya okanye beshwacel'amabunzi qho xa ndizichaza ukuba ndilinxanwa. Asikuko ke nokuba ndiyazingca okanye ndiyakonwabela ukuba linxila, kuloko oku bekuyeyona ndlela ndiyaziyo yokuzifihla kwiinkxwaleko neenzima zeli hlabathi. Ngawo lo mzuzu ndiziva ndinochulumanco ukuvakalisa ukuba ekugqibeleni kukho into endiyenzayo ngako oko.

My name is Zenobia, I am 34 years old and I am an alcoholic. People always flinch or cringe whenever I say the last part of my introduction, that of being an alcoholic. It's not as if I am proud of or enjoy being an alcoholic, but it was the only way I could use to hide or run away from my demons both from my childhood and my adult life. Today I am really glad and proud to announce that I am finally doing something about it.*

The Second Event

This event is actually the narrator's flashbacks of her childhood life, which are also the reasons why she became an alcoholic.

Narrative of the Second Event

Ekukhuleni kwam, ndingumntwanana bendizungezwa ziimvakalelo zokuba ngumntu ongenaxabiso, ongelolutho nokungasazi esona sizathu senza ukuba umama wam angandithandi kangaka. Ndandihlala ke ngoko ndinolangazelelo lokufika kukaLwesihlanu, mini leyo utata wayedla ngokufika ngayo esuka emsebenzini nanjengoko wayexelenga kude nekhaya. Ndandifumana impatho efanayo naleyo yenkosazana xa ekhona utata kwaye ke le mpatho ndandiye ndiyifumane nalapho kumama into ke leyo eyayindikhwankqisa maxa wambi.

As a child, I have been haunted by the feelings of unworthiness and not knowing why my mother hated me. I used to look forward to Fridays when my father comes home from work as he was working away from home. When he was around I always got the Princess kind of treatment even from my cruel mother.

The Third Event

This event, which is basically the central part of this narrative, is when the narrator's father passed away leaving the young, defenceless girl with the cruel stepmother. The loss of the father is not the only issue in this plot, but there was also the discovery that the narrator's real mother passed away when the narrator was born. This latter information was useful to the narrator in that in a way it made it easier for her to understand why the mother was so malicious to her.

Narrative of the Third Event

Oku kuqhubekile de ndaba neminyaka elishumi elinesibini apho izinto ziqale ukuba maxongo nangakumbi, utata egulela oogqirha nezicaka esibhedlele. Ndandingasenaye ke ngoku umntu ondibiza nkosazana ukanti nalowo undiqinesikisa ngekamva eliquqambileyo, indim othe ngcu phaya phezu kwento zonke nelizwe ngokubanzi. Uye wasweleka utata emva kweenyanga ezintathu egula. Akuzange kubekho mntu undithuthuzelayo novelana nam, kwakungathi andibonakali ndifana nje nomoya. Kungalo eli lixa ke apho ndafumanisa ukuba kanti lo mntu ndimbiza ngokuba ngumama wam akanguye, oyena mama wam wasweleka efumana mna lo. Nangona zazibuhlungu ezi ndaba kodwa zazisichaza isizathu esenza ukuba umama andichaphukele kangaka.

This continued until I was 12 years old when things started getting worse, with my father being critically ill and confined in hospital. No one was calling me Princess anymore or assuring me of a brighter future with me on top of the world. Three months later my father passed away. No one sympathised with me; it was as if I did not exist and that was the time I learnt or discovered that my real mother died giving birth to me, and that this one was my stepmother. Somehow, that explained the reason why she hated me so much.

The Fourth Event

It is obvious and expected that now that the narrator's pillar and beacon of love and hope was gone, the mother would be even more malicious towards her. Neglecting the girl was not unusual or unexpected, but marrying someone who would molest and rape the child without her noticing or picking it up was way out of hand. To hide away and drown the pains and sorrows, our narrator started drinking and using drugs with the assistance of her stepmother's husband.

Narrative of the Fourth Event

Imeko yasekhaya yaya isiba mbi nangakumbi kwabe kungekho nto ndandinokuyenza ngayo nanjengoko kwakungekho bani endandinokubalekela kuye. Ndandingazi zizalwane zimbi ngaphandle komama lo endihlala naye, ndingenazo nezo nkcukacha ngomama wam owandizalayo, into endandiyazi ngaye kukuba wasweleka ezala mna lo. Nokuba ndandinokuzincama ndimbuze umama lo kwakungekho ncedo ndandinokulufumana kuba

naye wayedla ngokushwabula maxa wambi ngelithi ukuba ebebazi “abantu bakulonyoko” wam ebenokwahlukana nolu xanduva lundim nje ngokuphanyaza lweliso.

Emva nje kweminyaka emibini utata eswelekile umama lo uye watshata nomnye umntu ongunoteksi, besele ndineminyaka ephantse yaba lishumi elinesihlanu ngoko. Le ndoda iye yazokuhlala nathi apha emzini katata. Ndandingamthandi tu lo mntu naye ndimazi ukuba akandithandi kwaye sobabini singakwazi ukuzifihla iimvakalelo zenzondo omnye komnye. Ngeenyangana nje ezintathu lo mntu elapha, zaqala ukwenzeka izinto ezona zakhe zaba mbi. Bobabini babengala aphume izandla amanxila kunge bayakhuphisana. Wayesithi ke xa ayotyiweyo okanye ethe natya kukunxila umama lo, achwechwe umshologu omdala ukuza egumbini lam afike andidwengule andithembise ngokundibulala ukuba nje ndikhe ndayithetha le nto kuye nabani na. Wayede athi nokuba ndingayithetha, umama lo akasokuze andikholelwe kuloko uya kusuke amncendise ekundibulaleni. Ndandikukholelwa oko kuba naye umama wayengandifuni nyhani, wayehleli nje nam kuba engenacebo limbi. Ngeso sizathu ke ndayitshixela kum ngaphakathi le mbandezelo, ndanyamezela ukuba sisigculelo seso sibhovu-bhovu sesidlwengu. Ndithe ndisiba neminyaka elishumi elinesithandathu ndabe ndisiya ngamandla ebhotileni yeenyembezi zikaVitoliya kwaye lo tata engonqeni ukundithengela utywala de wandifaka nakulo mkhuba wecuba labathwa.

The situation at home got worse day in and day out and there was nothing I could do about it, as I had no one to turn to or run to. I didn't know any other family (extended) members or relatives for that matter and I had no information about my real mother's family or background, all I knew was that she died giving birth to me. I really blamed myself for that and I don't know why. I could not ask my mother as she used to mention that if she knew my real mother's family, she would get rid of this burden (that is me) at the wink of an eye.

She got married eighteen months after my father's death to a taxi-driver, and by that time I was almost fifteen years old. This man moved in with us, in my father's house and I did not like him as much as he did not like me. We couldn't hide our hatred towards one another and within just three months terrible things started happening. They were both heavy drinkers and when my stepmother has passed out, her husband would sneak into my room fondle with me and then rape me. He promised to kill me if I told or even hint about this to anyone, and he even alleged that if I did mention it my stepmother would never believe

me- instead she would hate me even more and help him to kill me. That was true and as a result I kept my mouth shut while he continued entertaining himself with my body. By the time I was sixteen, I was a heavy drinker already and this man used to buy me booze and started me on marijuana.

The Fifth Event

Now at tertiary and a fine young lady, our narrator continued drinking, smoking dagga and sleeping around with any men, only to get acceptance, as she puts it. She went out of her way to please her friends both male and female at her expense for companionship. Still, she was never happy until she took a decision to deal with her alcohol addiction and rewrite her history.

Narrative of the Fifth Event

Ndiliphumelele ibanga leshumi xa ndineminyaka engama-19 ndaze ndaya eUnitra (iDyunivesithi yaseTranskei) ndiyokwenza izifundo zobugqirha (MBCHB). Le yinto endandisoloko ndiyifuna kwathi kanti notata unduluke ewenzile amalungiselelo okuba ndiphumeze amaphupha am ngokwezicwangciso ezisegqwetheni lakhe. Nangona ndiphumile kula nkxwaleko yasekhaya, andikwazanga kuyeka ukusela, ukutshaya umya ukanti nokulala nayo nayiphi na indoda ethe yafuna ukulala nam kwaye ke ndandingaboni nto isisikhwasilima kulo nto. Ukanti bekusithi nokuba ayiphindanga ize kundibona indoda leyo ndingaboni nto igwenxa nephosakeleyo kulo nto kuba ukusetyenziswa ngokwesini ibiyinto ebufana nesithethe kum.

Ndiqhube kakuhle kakhulu nezifundo zam, ndiphumelela emagqabini, ukanti ke andizange ndiphinde ndiluthi cakatha olwam ekhaya oko ndahamba ngala mhla ndisiya eUnitra. Ngexesha leeholide bendidla ngokuhamba ndiyohlala nabahlobo ndisebenzise imali ebendiyifumana inyanga nenyanga ngokwezicwangciso zikatata wam.

Imini eyona yakha yamyoli ebomini bam yimini esasithweswa ngayo izidanga apho ndathi ndafumana esona siph, imoto esuka kutata ithengwe ligqwetha lakhe ngokomyolelo wakhe. Ndonwaba ngolona hlobo. Umama lo kunye nezuma lomyeni wakhe, zange babonakale nangotshengele.

Andizange ndiyeke ukuyotywa nangona besendingugqirha nje, akukho nto ndiyifunayo ndingakwazi kuyifumani kungekho nandawo ndingakwazi ukufikelela kuyo endifunayo ukufika kuyo. Kodwa konke oko akunakulinganiswa nesidima sam kunye nobutsha bam obohluthwa kum ngenkohlakalo. Abantu abaninzi xa bendijongile basabona laa Zenobia waseMakerere- iUnitra ukutsho oko kuba sasiyibiza ngolo hlobo. Ndithi ke basabona laa Zenobia unesimilo esithe saa. Akukho nanye kwiitshomi zam ezingabafana endingazange ndilale nayo kuba ndandingafuni ukulahlekelwa bubuhlobo nazo, kwaye ndandiyazi leyo nto yokunikezela ngomzimba wam iyeyona ndlela abanokundamkela ngayo. Ngaxeshanye, abahlobo bam abangamantombazana babengamanxila nje afanayo nam, bekwatshaya nentsangu kwaye ke ukufumaneka kwezo zinto kwakuxhomekeke apha kum. Ndandiyazi mhlophe kunjalo nje ukuba ndandisengwa ndijongwa njengomthombo wemali, kodwa oko ndandikuxolele egameni nje lokuba kuthiwe ndinabantu abangabam abaya kuhlala besecaleni kwam.

I passed my matric at the age of nineteen and went to Unitra (the University of Transkei) to do my MBCHB, because that is what I've always wanted to do and my father had made a provision for that through his lawyer. Even there, I never stopped drinking and sleeping around with men was not such a big deal, and I was not bothered if a man never made a follow-up on me. Being used as a sex object by men especially those closest to me and drinking it off was a norm to me.

I progressed well with my studies and I never set my foot back to my so-called home since the day I left for University. During holidays I would go with friends and live on my allowance. On my graduation day, I received a car as a present from my late father arranged or organized by his lawyer per his request or will. That was the happiest day of my life since my father's death, and in a very long time I cried, wishing for him to come back to me and celebrate this achievement with me. My so-called mother and her husband didn't make any appearance and I am sure they were drunk as usual.

I continued hitting the bottle. Yes, I am a doctor now and I have and can afford anything I want, but all that is not worth my dignity and my youth which I lost through cruelty. I know that most people when looking at me they still see that loose Zenobia from Makerere- as we used to call Unitra. I slept with almost all my male friends because that was the only way I knew of making people love and accept or rather stick with me. Almost all my female friends were heavy drinkers, smoking dagga and I used to buy those for them, by doing so

then they will stick with me all the time. I knew they were using me too, but that did not bother me that much so long as I have them by my side, for companionship.

The Sixth Event

In this event, the narrator decides to shape-up her life by addressing her alcohol addiction problem through attending the AA meetings. Here, the narrator has come to realise the fact that there is no one who can bring positive change to her life but herself, and as such she seems ready and eager to take the first step towards that change.

Narrative of the Sixth Event

Njengoko besenditshilo, impilo nobomi bam abundonwabisi kwaye ndiyazi ukuba akekho omnye umntu onokuzisa utshintsho ebomini bam ngaphandle kwam. Ndizimisele ekuguquleni impilo yam ibe yencomekayo, yiyo loo nto ndithathe isigqibo sokuba ndihambe ezi ntlanganiso zakwa AA (Alcoholics Anonymous). Lide ixesha ndikhombe umnwe obek'ityala kumama lo wam kunye nomyeni wakhe, nangona ndingetsho nje ukuba bamsulwa kuba ke eneneni abasokuze babe msulwa, kodwa ndiyayazi into yokuba umntu onokwenza ubomi bam bube bobo bungumzekelo nakwabanye, ndim kuphela. Ukuba kwenzeka ntoni ukuze kube nje akunagalelo likhulu ngoku, okuthethayo kukuba ndingumntu oyintoni nonaliphi na igalelo elizweni, kungoko ndigqibe kwelokuba mandiguqule ubomi bam kuqala ukuze ndikwazi ukuzisa inguqu kubomi babanye.

I am not happy with the way things were or are with me or my life and I know that no one else but me could change that or put an end to it, sort of rewrite the history. This is basically the reason why I am attending the AA meetings. I have been blaming my stepmother and her husband for the way things turned out with me, and to a certain extent they both are accountable but, it is only me who can put an end to it all.

1.2 Endpoint: Theme of the Narrative

The theme of the narrative is the abuse of a young girl by her stepmother and later by her stepfather who sexually assaulted her. This abuse continued and resulted in her abusing alcohol and drugs as a result she became an alcoholic, and she also became overtly sexual and accepted all her male friends as lovers. This narrative in a way is a lesson to

most of the abuse and rape victims out there that there is hope only if you are willing to face up to your demons and accept the fact that you were not responsible, but just a victim of the circumstances. The narrator has also come to the conclusion that she doesn't have to destroy her life and future just because of two cruel adults, instead she can and will try to beat them out of their own game by being a successful and responsible adult.

1.3 Ordering of Events

1.3.1 Sequence

Events of this narrative are ordered in a linear sequence. The narrator's self-introduction occupies the first position in the narrative. In the second event, she reflects on her upbringing through flashbacks and accepts that she is an alcoholic, hated by her mother and that she only finds refuge and peace when her father is around. In the third event, she loses her father to death and discovers that her real mother died giving birth to her. The fourth event is when her hardships take their toll with her stepmother's husband molesting and raping her, things that led to her being a drug and alcohol addict. In the fifth event, the narrator gives details of how she continued with self-destruction. The final event is when she takes the initiative to reshape her life and the decision to change her behaviour after realising that the only person who is a danger and a threat to her success is herself. But, her encouragement to do something about her addiction and self-destruction is a sign of personal growth and a lesson to others that no matter how difficult life is or how mean and vicious people are towards you, they are not worth your self-worth.

1.3.2 Duration

The duration of this narrative is not clear as it is not mentioned.

1.4 Stability of Identity

The narrator does not seem to have a coherent identity. It seems as if she has a dual personality. On the one hand, she is quite timid and easily influenced by her circumstances. Her stepmother hated her and when her father died her situation worsened. She was also eventually abused by her stepfather. These circumstances resulted in her obtaining a negative outlook on life to such an extent that she reverted to

alcohol and drugs. On the other hand, she seems to be a very strong character because through all her problems she managed to pass a very difficult exam in becoming a medical doctor. Such studies assume specific types of personality and she is expected to persevere even though her circumstances are bad.

1.5 Causal Linkages

The events in the narrative are causally linked and they do show the relationship between the cause and the effect. For example, in the beginning, the narrator mentions that she learnt at her father's funeral that the mother she was staying with was not her real mother, and that explains the reason why she was hated by her mother. Secondly, the narrator was sexually victimised by her stepmother's husband, as a result she resorted to alcohol and drugs for refuge or to run away from her predicament. At the University, the narrator was sleeping around with her male friends and allowed herself to be financially abused by her female friends because all she wanted was for them to accept her in their circles. Lastly, she decided to attend the AA meetings because she has come to realise that the only one who can bring a positive change to her life was herself, and that by changing her situation she can be able to bring change to others'.

1.6 Demarcation Signs

There are no demarcation signs in this narrative.

2 The Narrative Form

This story has a regressive narrative. At first the narrator is haunted by the feelings of unworthiness and not knowing why her mother hates her so much. Whilst busy trying to figure out why her mother hates her, she loses her father, the only positive thing in her life that brings joy and hope for better things to come. She learns that her mother is actually her stepmother and she is never able to trace her real mother's family. From there, her stepmother marries a paedophile that not only used the young girl as a sex object or tool, but introduced her to drugs and alcohol. She continued with this newly found norm of sleeping around with any man and using alcohol and drugs, but she was never happy with that or herself. She is now a doctor with all the comforts a world has to offer, but still not happy or at peace with herself.

This narrative is also a progressive narrative because the narrator did change eventually, when she decided to take the blame for her situation on herself. She then began attending AA meetings for her alcoholism.

3 Self-Narrative

3.1 Relationship among Self-Relevant Events across Time

The events of the narrative are related in the sense that each event leads to the other. In the beginning, the narrator gives her personal details but the most significant thing she remembers is her mother's animosity or hatred towards her and she appears to be haunted by that. She continues by giving us details as to what led or made her an alcoholic as per introduction. It is clear that she is not happy about her life or some of the things she engaged herself in as a young adult who had choices, and now mentions that she has decided to do something about that.

3.2 Social Accounting

The social purpose that this narrative fulfils is that of self-justification in that the narrator continues to mention her upbringing and her stepmother as the sole perpetrators. In a way, not having that motherly love, protection and guidance are the reason for her addiction and promiscuity.

Another social purpose that this narrative is fulfilling, is that of self-criticism because somehow the narrator does take full responsibility of her sleeping around with men and using drugs especially during her tertiary life and after she graduated as a doctor. By admitting responsibility, she is not condoning what her stepmother and her husband in particular did to her, but she is acknowledging the fact that she is the only one who can positively turn her sordid life around.

3.3 Narrative is True

This narrative is accepted as true in most South African communities in that it is a well known fact that stepmothers are very malicious especially towards their stepchildren. Again, cases of incest are apparent in our societies particularly in the twenty-first century,

and children subjected to that are most likely to turn out as drunkards, drug abusers and/or prostitutes. Most of them become what is known as "oo-bergie" because they are mostly subjected to this abuse at a very tender age. Most people are going to relate to this narrative mostly the survivors of child abuse and molestation.

This narrative may help most households and people in the same situation as Zenobia to realize the fact that if you put your mind into it, you will and might see a light at the end of the tunnel.

4 Practices of Self-Narration: Process

4.1 Variety of Narrative Forms

The major part of this narrative is characterised by the regressive narrative. Right from the beginning, the narrator does not appear as a happy soul except when her father was around even though that was itself short-lived as her father passed away when the narrator was only twelve years old. After her father's death, the events in the narrator's life took a rapid decline, one terrible incident after the other. But, the ending of the narrative and that of the narrator's life is characteristic of that of the heroic-saga-kind of a narrative, because the narrator is able to pull herself through out of self-destruction. The end of this narrative is mostly evident of that of the progressive narrative because the narrator decided to take charge of her life and do something about her alcohol addiction; to attend AA meetings.

4.2 Micro Narrative

This is a micro narrative in that the events of the narrator's personal life occurred over a short period of time, since she was a young child until she was almost thirty-four years old. Again, this is typical of an autobiography.

4.3 Nesting of the Narrative

Nesting of events is not possible here as there is only one narrative.

5 Pragmatics of Self-Narrative

5.1 Regressive Narrative

This narrative solicits sympathy, intimacy, pity and concern because knowledge of things like these, of children being sexually molested and raped by people who are supposed to be protecting them, engender feelings that make others feel obliged into helping other children in the same environments and to report such things to respective structures. At the same time, this narrative is more of a learning curve to the public that, when you see a younger person behaving in an unbecoming manner, don't jump into conclusions as this might happen that the person is doing whatever it is that she or he is doing as a means of running from reality. And in most cases, it is abuse.

5.2 Progressive Narrative

There is a progressive change in the narrator in that even though she had committed herself to alcohol, drugs and to being a sex slave, she realised that her stepmother and her husband cannot be held responsible for her destruction, as she is an adult with choices now. As a result of that acknowledgement, the narrator started going to the AA (Alcoholics Anonymous) meetings to curb her addiction and positively turn her life around.

6 Interknitting of Identities

6.1 Moral Evaluation

Even though the community knows about Zenobia's background and upbringing, her compulsive use of alcohol and drugs, and her promiscuity as an adult, is seen and evaluated as low morals and disrespect both to the community and to self.

6.2 Interminable negotiation

The identity of the narrator as a worthless person is sustained throughout the narrative hence it was easy for her to give herself to any man that came around because "what difference does it make". Even as a medical doctor, she continues with self-destruction as she believed that is her fate or condemnation.

6.3 Reciprocal Identities

The narrator's stepmother and her husband are actually the perpetrators of her (Zenobia's) self-destruction. The company she kept at the University as it obvious from the information she gave that they were also after what she had to offer them, and not true, self-fulfilling and constructive companionship, is what carried this on.

7 Emotions

- (a) The narrator experienced emotions of neglect by her mother and those of unworthiness not knowing exactly why her mother doesn't love her. All these emotions brought a lot of confusion to her and to her life especially when her mother's attitude kept on changing for better when her father was around. When the narrator was subjected to sexual molestation, she was overwhelmed with anger and hatred, which she directed mostly at self by drowning self to drugs and alcohol. It is obvious that she was angry towards and hated her stepmother and her husband, because she never set her foot back there since the day she left for the University.
- (b) Yes, such emotions are indeed embedded into the culture in that people who have been victimised and sexually assaulted, hate themselves and those who did those things to them, even those who did nothing to protect them against such acts.
- (c) These emotional expressions are meaningful because after losing her father, the narrator subconsciously knew that things were going to be tougher and especially after learning that her real mother died when she was born, and that she couldn't even trace her real mother's relatives. But, she never anticipated rape and being used as a sex object as part of the package, and as a result she resorted to drug abuse. So, these emotional expressions are a result of the sexual abuse and not having anyone to turn to.
- (d) The narrator is overwhelmed by hatred, which led her to self-destruction, she realised how dangerous that was or is to her health and to her career. This reality check led to the decision of attending AA meetings.

Analysis 5

Domestic Abuse

Akukho lula ukuba ngumama ongasebenziyo nongenamfundo ibhekele phi. Kunzima ukuxhomekeka emyenini ubomi bakho bonke kuba xa sele engasakufuni ekugezela, ayikho enye into onokuyenza nendawo onokubalekela kuyo. Sikhule sisazi ukuba ingcwaba lomfazi lisekwendeni kangangokuba nokuba umyeni sele ekumoshe kangakanani na awunakuze ugoduke, ukuthwala iimpahla zakho ugoduke yinto yokugqibela onokuyenza leyo. Xa uthe wazijul'ijacu wagoduka, ubuuye uphindiselwe emzini wakho ngabantu bakowenu kungakhathaliseki ukuba woniwe kangakanani na. Le yimpilo endiyiphile nje ndifika emzini, ndamane ndithundezwa ukuba ndinyamezele izinto ziza kutshintsha, ndide ndikhuthazwe ngelithi kunje kuyo yonke imizi.

Ukurhaqaza komyeni ewe, bekungandiphathi kakuhle ingakumbi ukungandihloniphi kwakhe kuba xa ndimthethisa ngako ebedla ngokuthi ndeza kuye ndimazi ukuba ungumntu waloo nto. Ebenenkazana anayo ke kwalapha elalini eqhubeka eyizalisa. Le nto ibisaziwa ngumntu wonke kuba ubengayifihli. Apho le nto ibifika ibe mbi khona, kukuba abam abantwana bebedinga ukudla neempahla zesikolo babe abala nkazana bephila ubomi obuntofo-ntofo.

Ndiye ndahamba ndibamba izikorobho apha ebantwini ukuze abantwana bam bangahleleleki, ndide ndilime imifuno nditye kuyo nabantwana bam, eminye ndiyithengise. Afike lo ngevuvu avune kwakule gadi yam athumele kule nkazana yakhe, xa ndimthethisa asuke andibuze ukuba ndithi abaya abantwana mabatye ntoni ingabakhe nje nabo. Apha ekuqhubekeni kwayo le nto kuvele umkhuba omtsha wokuba lo myeni wam abe ngathi uyandonyanya kuba ubevele andibuze ukuba ndimjonge ntoni, atsho ukundivuna ngentonga. Andiwazi ukuba mangaphi amatyeli endithwele ngawo iimpahlana zam, ndirhuqe iintsanana zam ndigoduke ngawo, endibethe nda-blowu.

Uye wafumana ukonyuselwa emsebenzini wanikwa nemoto. Yonke le nto yaba sesona sigculelo kuba uthe isakuphuma imali, wathenga indlu edolophini wathutha le nkazana yakhe nabantwana bayo waya kuhlala nabo kuloo ndlu yasedolophini. Okuqhubekayo kweli ikhaya wayengenaxesha lako nokuba abantwana baqhuba njani na ezikolweni nezinto ezifunekayo wayengazikhathazi ngako. Ufake le nkazana esikolweni wayithengela

nemoto, abantwana babo befunda ezikolweni zabeLungu bethetha isiNgesi. Ngexesha afike ngalo umfumane ephosela abantwana bam ngeempahlana ezimdakana ekubonakala ukuba zisuka kwaba basedolophini, kuthiwe mababulele abantwana bam nam ngokunjalo. Bekuba ngathi akasahambi ukuphindela edolophini apho kuba ubesiphehluzelisa ngolona hlobo sibe singekho nesizathu esibonakalayo nesivakalayo soko, kwaye ke rhoqo efikile ubehamba esiphakamisile isandla ngakum.

Ayizange indonwabise le nto yabantwana bam abaza kunxiba iimpahla abazishiyelwe ngabantwana benkazana kayise. Ndagqiba kwelokuba ndime ngeenyawo njengabanye abafazi abakwimeko efanayo nale yam ndiyofuna umsebenzi edolophini apho. Ndiwufumene umsebenzi ndaphangela, yatshintsha imeko yekhaya neyabantwana bam, batya ukutya okuya egazinii banxiba ngokufanayo nabanye abantwana.

Ukuyiva kwakhe le nto umyeni, ufike exhabashile efun'ukuqonda ukuba imvume ndiyifumene kubani na, phofu ke yonke le nto uyibuza ngentonga egrogrisa ngelithi ukuba andiyiyeki le mpambano ndiyenzayo uza kundibonisa amaqhekez'engqele. Andazi ke ukuba ukusebenzela abantwana bakho kwaqala nini na ukuba yimpambano, kodwa ke andizange ndiyeke ukusebenza nokuzikhathalela kuba ke wethu umntu lo wayeyimbelukazi ebuntombini bakhe. Ndithi mna ndibone ngomntu ngoku sele esisingqina-nqina emva kwam, equqa ebuyelela emzini wam okwezulu laseMthatha, ndithi ngumzi wam kuba kaloku yena wazithutha ezakhe iintente waya kuzihloma kwankazana.

Kuloo nto yokuquqa kwakhe apha ke ndakhulelwa lo mntwana wam wamagqibelo uMpho*. Isimanga sesi sokuba umntu athi lo mntwana asingowakhe ngowaba bantu ndiquqa kubo edolophini, ukuba ibinguye ondimithele nge eyiva loo nto. Zihambile ke iinyanga eme ngelithi uza kubona emntwaneni. Ndabeleka, wavela umntwana emhlotshana kunabanye, watsho esithi ebetshilo ukuba ayingowakhe lo mntwana.

Kweli ityeli andizigodukelanga, kufike nabantu bakowabo bendikhomba esangweni, umntwana wam ebizwa ngomgqakhwe engenguwo ke phofu. Aba bantu bakowabo njengokuba sebethethela phezulu kangaka nje ngoku abazange bafune ukuyingena le yonyana wabo otyeshele usapho lwakhe waya kuhlala kwankazana. Ndiqhubekile ke ndisebenza ukuze ndondle abantwana bam abathathu ngalo uphikwa nguyise. Uthe uMpho xa eza kugqiba unyaka wesithathu wanguyiseze, waqala ngoku uyise nabantu basemzini babonakalisa umdla ndicengwa ukuba ndibuyele emzini ukuze umntwana

enzelwe iimfanelo zakhe. Andizange ndiyenze loo nto. Ndonyeliswa mna kwilizwe eli lonke ndithukwa nangabantu endingabaziyo ngokuziphatha kakubi ebudaleni, abantwana bam besisigculelo sentlekisa nezithuko. Nakwelo khaya ndandigoduselwe kulo andizange ndamkeleke ndade ndaya kuhlala ematyotyombeni nabantwana bam, kunzima.

Namhlanje kuthiwa mandilibale yonke loo nto ndibuyele kula meko yokungcungcutheka. Abantwana bam badala ngoku kwaye andizange ndisibone isizathu sokuba ndibafihlele oko kwenzekayo. Ndilunge ngoku ndingumabuy'ekwendeni.

(It is not easy to be uneducated and to be a housewife, depending on your husband for everything because that makes it difficult even when your husband has wronged you. We have indoctrinated into thinking and believing that the future of a woman is with her husband or in-laws. Even when you have finally decided to pack your bags and leave your husband, your family will send you back there and tell you that every woman goes through the same or even more challenges so you have to hold on.

My husband has been a very promiscuous person to an extent that he kept a mistress in our village and she was more of a second wife because she kept on having his children. Everybody knew about her because my husband was not being discreet about it. When I tried to talk to him about, he said I married him knowing that he was a ladies' man. The bad thing about this behaviour was that my children were the ones suffering from this, their father didn't bother or care whether they had food on the table or clothes on their backs.

I decided to get odd jobs from households in the village so I can be able to provide for my children and I even planted vegetables in the garden to supplement our diet and sold surplus to other households. This horrible man would come, pick vegetables out of my garden and send them to his mistress because he claimed that those were his children too and they deserved fresh vegetables.

He got promotion from work and bought a house in town, which he shared with his mistress and their children. He completely forgot about us and didn't bother about our children's progress at school and the things they needed. He took his mistress to school bought her a car and their children were going to these model C schools- speaking English. When he finally come home, everybody would be running around for no apparent reason and would be bringing these nasty ragged clothes for my children, obviously from

his other children. And, whenever he was around he would make it a point that he fights with me or assault me as usual.

This got me thinking hard and seriously because seeing my children being treated as charity by their own father was the last straw, so I decided to go look for a real job like other people who are in the same situation as me. I got the job in town and life changed so positively for my children and me; they had a decent meal on their table everyday and had nice clothes like other kids.

This news got to my husband and infuriated him and he assaulted me threatening that if I don't drop what I was doing, he would do great harm to me. I didn't stop taking care of my family and myself, and that made him to keep on coming and spending more time here, in my home.

In this process I got pregnant with my last born, Mpho and for some strange reason he claimed that the child in my tummy was him that it must be one of those men I meet in town. He stopped coming to the house saying that he will see when the child is born. When he was born, Mpho* was slightly different from others, with a fairer complexion and my husband claimed that his suspicions were confirmed. My in-laws took it up to themselves send me packing this time alleging that I have disgraced their family with an illegitimate child. Interestingly enough, these in-laws never wanted to intervene when their son left his unemployed, semi-literate wife to live with his mistress.*

I continued working so that I can be able to take care of my three fatherless children. When Mpho was just about to turn three years, he became his father's reflection and now all of a sudden his father including his family wanted me to return to my house so that they can give Mpho his traditional rights. I never did that, not after being so humiliated and disgraced in public and being insulted by people I don't even know for adultery. My children were to great humiliation and disgrace because of the sins of their disguised as mine. I was robbed of everything I had, my home as a result I had to go to shacks with my kids, because I was not welcomed at my home as my family felt disgraced.

I am fine where I am and there is no way in hell am I ever going back to that stressful life. My children are grown up now as a result I felt that they deserve to know the truth about our situation. Being a divorcee is what I am and I am comfortable with that.

1 The Structure of the Narrative Account

1.1 Selection of Events in the Account

This narrative relates to the experiences of a woman who has been brought up and socialised into being and accepting that a woman or wife is her husband's doormat. There are therefore various events that connect to this core of domestic abuse.

This story consists of seven events. The first event is concerned with the way the narrator was socialised and her first years of marriage life and her husband's promiscuous lifestyle. This is followed by the trials and tribulations of hardships whereby she had to fend for herself with her children. In the third event, the narrator is also exposed to and has to withstand physical assault from her husband. In the fourth event the narrator and her children are exposed to humiliation by her husband whereby the children in this household had to depend on their half-brothers for clothes instead of their father buying them new clothes. It is in this event that the narrator took responsibility for her children and gets a decent job so that she can feed and clothe them properly. The fifth and the central event of the narrative, the narrator fell pregnant by her husband even though he claims that the child is not his and when the child born looking slightly different from others. In the sixth event the narrator is chased away from her house and home and after a few years everyone realises that they have made a mistake and ask the narrator to move back to her house. The last event is whereby the narrator decides to keep her dignity and pride by staying in her newly found home instead of going back to her in-laaws and her non-existent marriage characterised by disrespect and humiliation.

The First Event

In this event the woman briefly shares with us the premise in which femalefolk move from in their culture especially as far as marriage is concerned. This indoctrination is what has made most women tolerate and not to report domestic abuse.

Narration of the First Event

Akukho lula ukuba ngumama ongasebenziyo nongenamfundo ibhekele phi. Kunzima ukuxhomekeka emyenini ubomi bakho bonke kuba xa sele engasakufuni ekugezela ayikho

enye into onokuyenza nendawo onokubalekela kuyo. Sikhule sisazi ukuba ingcwaba lomfazi lisekwendeni kangangokuba nokuba umyeni sele ekumoshe kangakanani na awunakuze ugoduke, ukuthwala iimpahla zakho ugoduke yinto yokugqibela onokuyenza leyo. Xa uthe wazijul'ijacu wagoduka, ubuye uphindiselwe emzini wakho ngabantu bakowenu kungakhathaliseki ukuba woniwe kangakanani na. Le yimpilo endiyiphile nje ndifika emzini, ndamane ndithundezwa ukuba ndinyamezele izinto ziza kutshintsha, ndide ndikhuthazwe ngelithi kunje kuyo yonke imizi.

(It is not easy to be uneducated and to be a housewife, depending on your husband for everything because that makes it difficult even when your husband has wronged you. We have indoctrinated into thinking and believing that the future of a woman is with her husband or in-laws. Even when you have finally decided to pack your bags and leave your husband, your family will send you back there and tell you that every woman goes through the same or even more challenges so you have to hold on.)

The Second Event

Here the woman seem to have accepted that her husband is polygamous, but the situation becomes worse when he refuses to take care of his family responsibilities to an extent that the woman had to get odd jobs.

Narrative of the Second Event

Ukurhaqaza komyeni ewe, bekungandiphathi kakuhle ingakumbi ukungandihloniphi kwakhe kuba xa ndimthethisa ngako ebedla ngokuthi ndeza kuye ndimazi ukuba ungumntu waloo nto. Ebenenkazana anayo ke kwalapha elalini eqhubeka eyizalisa, le nto ibisaziwa ngumntu wonke kuba ubengayifihli. Apho le nto ibifika ibe mbi khona, kukuba abam abantwana bebedinga ukudla neempahla zesikolo babe abala nkazana bephila ubomi obuntofo-ntofo. Ndiye ndahamba ndibamba izikorobho apha ebantwini ukuze abantwana bam bangahleleleki, ndide ndilime imifuno nditye kuyo nabantwana bam eminye ndiyithengise. Afike lo ngevu avune kwakule gadi yam athumele kule nkazana yakhe, xa ndimthethisa asuke andibuze ukuba ndithi abaya abantwana mabatye ntoni ingabakhe nje nabo. Apha ekuqhubekeni kwayo le nto kuvele umkhuba omtsha wokuba lo myeni wam abe ngathi uyandonyanya kuba ubevele andibuze ukuba ndimjonge ntoni,

atsho ukundivuna ngentonga. Andiwazi ukuba mangaphi amatyeli endithwele ngawo iimpahlana zam, ndirhuge iintsanana zam ndigoduke ngawo endibethe nda-blowu.

My husband has been a very promiscuous person to an extent that he kept a mistress in our village and she was more of a second wife because she kept on having his children. Everybody knew about her because my husband was not being discreet about it. When I tried to talk to him about it, he said I married him knowing that he was a ladies' man. The bad thing about this behaviour was that my children were the ones suffering from this, their father didn't bother or care whether they had food on the table or clothes on their backs. I decided to get odd jobs from households in the village so I can be able to provide for my children and I even planted vegetables in the garden to supplement our diet and sold surplus to other households. This horrible man would come, pick vegetables out of my garden and send them to his mistress because he claimed that those were his children too and they deserved fresh vegetables.

These news got to my husband and infuriated him and he assaulted me threatening that if I don't drop what I was doing, he would do great harm to me. I didn't stop taking care of my family and myself, and that made him to keep on coming and spending more time here, in my home.

The Third Event

When the husband got an opportunity of doing better things, he only thought of his mistress and their children and never considered his wife and the children he had with her as his family or responsibility.

Narrative of the Third Event

Uye wafumana ukonyuselwa emsebenzini wanikwa nemoto. Yonke le nto yaba sesona sigculelo kuba uthe isakuphuma imali, wathenga indlu edolophini wathutha le nkazana yakhe nabantwana bayo waya kuhlala nabo kuloo ndlu yasedolophini. Okuqhubekayo kweli ikhaya wayengenaxesha lako nokuba abantwana baqhuba njani na ezikolweni nezinto ezifunekayo wayengazikhathazi ngazo. Ufake le nkazana esikolweni wayithengela nemoto, abantwana babo befunda ezikolweni zabeLungu bethetha isiNgesi. Ngexesha afike ngalo umfumane ephosela abantwana bam ngempahlana ezimdakana ekubonakala

ukuba zisuka kwaba basedolophini, kuthiwe mababulele abantwana bam nam ngokunjalo. Bekuba ngathi akasahambi ukuphindela edolophini apho kuba ubesiphehluzelisa ngolona hlobo sibe singekho nesizathu esibonakalayo nesivakalayo soko, kwaye ke rhoqo efikile ubehamba esiphakamisile isandla ngakum.

He got promotion from work and bought a house in town, which he shared with his mistress and their children. He completely forgot about us and didn't bother about our children's progress at school and the things they needed. He took his mistress to school bought her a car and their children were going to these model C schools- speaking English. When he finally come home, everybody would be running around for no apparent reason and would be bringing these nasty ragged clothes for my children, obviously from his other children. And, whenever he was around he would make it a point that he fights with me or assault me as usual.

The Fourth Event

In this event the narrator decides to roll-up her sleeves and get a job so she can be able to support her children and herself instead of waiting and accepting handouts from her husband and his mistress.

Narrative of the Fourth Event

Ayizange indonwabise le nto yabantwana bam abaza kunxiba iimpahla abazishiyelwe ngabantwana benkazana kayise. Ndagqiba kwelokuba ndime ngeenyawo njengabanye abafazi abakwimeko efanayo nale yam ndiyofuna umsebenzi edolophini apho. Ndiwufumene umsebenzi ndaphangela, yatshintsha imeko yekhaya neyabantwana bam, batya ukutya okuya egazinii banxiba ngokufanayo nabanye abantwana.

This got me thinking hard and seriously because seeing my children being treated as charity by their own father was the last straw, so I decided to go look for a real job like other people who are in the same situation as me. I got the job in town and life changed so positively for my children and me, they had a decent meal on their table everyday and had nice clothes like other kids.

The Fifth Event

After the woman has managed to pull herself out of the gutter and made her children and herself better people, her husband having failed in stopping her from working, started acting like a husband in some areas to an extent that he got his wife pregnant. The only bad thing about this is that he denied fathering the child.

Narrative of the Fifth Event

Kuloo nto yokuquqa kwakhe apha ke ndakhulelwa lo mntwana wam wamagqibelo uMpho*. Isimanga sesi sokuba umntu athi lo mntwana asingowakhe ngowaba bantu ndiquqa kubo edolophini, ukuba ibinguye ondimitisileyo nge eyiva loo nto. Zihambile ke iinyanga emengelithi uza kubona emntwaneni. Ndabeleka, wavela umntwana emhlotshana kunabanye, watsho esithi ebetshilo ukuba ayingowakhe lo mntwana.

(In this process I got pregnant with my last born, Mpho and for some strange reason he claimed that the child in my tummy was not his but it must be one of those men I meet in town. He stopped coming to the house saying that he will see when the child is born. When he was born, Mpho* was slightly different from others, with a fairer complexion and my husband claimed that his suspicions were confirmed. My in-laws took it up to themselves send me packing this time alleging that I have disgraced their family with an illegitimate child. Interestingly enough, these in-laws never wanted to intervene when their son left his unemployed, semi-literate wife to live with his mistress.)*

The Sixth Event

In this event, the narrator's husband and his family realises that they have made a mistake but instead of apologizing, they tell her that she should move back to her house, but she decided not to.

Narrative of the Sixth Event

Ndiqhubekile ke ndisebenza ukuze ndondle abantwana bam abathathu ngalo uphikwa nguyise. Uthe uMpho xa eza kugqiba unyaka wesithathu wanguyiseze, waqala ngoku uyise nabantu basemzini babonakalisa umdla ndicengwa ukuba ndibuyele emzini ukuze umntwana enzelwe iimfanelo zakhe. Andizange ndiyenze loo nto. Ndonyeliswa mna

kwilizwe eli lonke ndithukwa nangabantu endingabaziyo ngokuziphatha kakubi ebudaleni, abantwana bam besisigculelo sentlekisa nezithuko.

(I continued working so that I can be able to take care of my three fatherless children. When Mpho was just about to turn three years, he became his father's reflection and now all of a sudden his father including his family wanted me to return to my house so that they can give Mpho his traditional rights. I never did that, not after being so humiliated and disgraced in public and being insulted by people I don't even know for adultery. My children were to great humiliation and disgrace because of the sins of their disguised as mine.

The Seventh Event

All the terrible things and the indignation she has been subjected to by her husband have somehow given her a new lease in life and independence. So, in order to hold on to her newly found independence and pride, she declined their offer.

Narrative of the Seventh Event

Nakwelo khaya ndandigoduselwe kulo andizange ndamkeleke ndade ndaya kuhlala ematyotyombeni nabantwana bam, kunzima. Namhlanje kuthiwa mandilibale yonke loo nto ndibuyele kula meko yokungcungcutheka. Abantwana bam badala ngoku kwaye andizange ndisibone isizathu sokuba ndibafihlele oko kwenzekayo. Ndilunge ngoku ndingumabuy'ekwendeni.

(I was robbed of everything I had and my home as a result I had to go to the shacks with my kids, because I was not welcomed at my home as my family felt disgraced. I am fine where I am and there is no way in hell am I ever going back to that stressful life. My children are grown up now as a result I felt that they deserve to know the truth about our situation. Being a divorcee is what I am and I am comfortable with that.)

1.1 Endpoint: Theme of the Narrative

The theme of the narrative is abuse of a wife by her husband. The narrator gives attention to this abuse by highlighting certain abusive situations in their relationship. For example:

he is keeping a mistress with his children, he is neglecting his wife with her children, he is assaulting his wife and repudiating his fatherhood of his last child at the same time. This narrative is also about taking control of one's life and rewriting history for the benefit of other generations to come. If you are not happy about something, you don't have to continue torturing yourself just to make others happy or to feel that they have an upper hand in life. All human beings are equal and have a right to own opinion, and the fact that getting out of a marriage that is not working for you is not a taboo but your right.

1.3 Ordering of Events

1.3.1 Sequence

The events in this story are organised in a linear temporal sequence. The woman starts by giving us the background on which she entered marriage and the kind of a man she got married to. From this point, one incident follows the other until the time she accidentally fell pregnant by her husband who later denied being the father of the baby. The story ends with this woman being so in control of her life after refusing to go back to her husband as she was chased out of the house with accusations of adultery.

1.3.2 Duration

The exact duration is not stipulated by the narrator, but gathering from the events themselves it is obvious that this took quite some years and also considering the number of children she had.

1.4 Stability of Identity

The narrator has a coherent identity across the narrative because right from the beginning she has portrayed herself as someone who doesn't allow people to trample on her. She confronted her husband about his extra-marital affairs and took the decision of fending for her family when her husband seemed unwilling or coping with that. At the end, she portrays herself as a very independent person, not being bothered by what other people think or say about her.

1.5 Causal Linkages

The events in the narrative are causally linked. The main cause is domestic abuse and violence. The narrator has been socialized into believing that a woman has to stick by her husband even when things are not conducive to her, and that is the reason why she always went back to him. She planted a vegetable garden so that she can be able to feed her children and sell the surplus to her neighbours to get money for other small things she and her children needed. She decided to look for a job because her husband was not supporting or maintaining her and the kids. She is chased away from her home because her husband and his family believed that she had brought them an illegitimate child, which turned out to be her husband's real child. The narrator decided not to go back to her husband or house because she felt that she have been humiliated and disgraced in the community together with her children. So, she believed that by keeping her newly found independence, she would be restoring her damaged dignity and pride.

1.6 Demarcation Signs

This narrative has no demarcation signs.

1 Narrative Form

1.1 Regressive Narrative

Right from the beginning, the narrator mentions the negative traits and elements of her culture as far as marriage is concerned, and the role which is played or expected of a woman in a marriage contract. Her husband does not seem prepared to love and respect her and treat her as his life partner. To her husband she is just an object and this continues until the end.

1.2 Progressive Narrative

This narrative is characteristic of a progressive narrative in that in the end the narrator managed to break free from her husband's abusive behaviour and by so-doing buying herself her independence.

3 Self-Narrative

3.1 Relationship among Self-Relevant Events Across Time

There are seven events in the story. The events are related in the sense that each event leads to the other. In the first instance, the narrator gives brief background of her culture's beliefs about marriage and expected behaviours of women in marriage. This in a way raises interest among the readers or listeners and to be more attentive in finding out what "next". After this she got married and was ill-treated and disrespected by her husband, and whenever she went back to her people, she would be sent back without even addressing the cause of her exodus. The narrator continues to mention all the challenges she came across with and how she dealt with them.

3.2 Social Accounting

This narrative fulfils the social purpose of self-justification because at some point the narrator felt that she has to do her children and herself some justice by quitting her non-functional marriage.

Another purpose is that of self-identification in that at the time when she was really suffering, the narrator identified herself with other women who were abused and neglected by their husbands, and for the first time she went to town to get work. At the end of the narrative, the narrator identifies herself with other divorcees according to the African culture.¹

3.3 Narrative is True

This is a true narrative in the sense that there are many women out there who are in non-existent and dysfunctional marriages because they have been socialised into believing that women are meant to suffer and that has been a norm. The strength and courage shown by the narrator can be used as an eye opener to other women in situations of domestic abuse out there.

4 Practices of Self- Narration: Process

4.1 Variety of Narrative Form

There are a variety of narrative forms in the story. The first narrative form is a regressive narrative whereby the narrator relates her experiences of being ill-treated and assaulted by her husband. The second narrative form is a progressive narrative where the narrator decides to quit her marriage and be independent irrespective of the taboos attached to her chosen status.

4.2 Micro Narrative

This is a micro narrative because the events of this narrative have taken place over a brief period of time in the narrator's life.

4.3 Nesting of Event

There is no nesting of events here because there is only one narrative.

4 Emotions

- (a) Emotions of anger are apparent in the narrative. For example, in the background she provided the narrator voices her disagreement with the laws or rather the norms set by their cultural elders. She is angry also at her husband's behaviour and the way he treats her and their children. The narrator is angry at herself for allowing her husband continues treating her as a doormat to an extent of accusing her of adultery knowing very well that he is the one practicing that.
- (b) These emotions are embedded in the culture in that a person, who is a bit enlightened about human rights, is bound to be very angry with people who are violating others' rights and even towards those that are abusive to women and children in particular.
- (c) These emotional expressions are meaningful because after realising that there is life out there and opportunities for one to seize whether married, single or divorced The narrator decided to jump at those opportunities and lead a very peaceful life free from abuse.

- (d) The narrator does become hostile because indeed she has been humiliated by her husband and his family and fighting back by holding on to her independence was the only way of restoring her dignity and pride. Being angry and hostile is culturally acceptable under these circumstances.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In chapter 2, Thomas (1995) contends that the politeness concept is very complex to an extent that speakers manipulate in various ways and for different intentions. These cross-purposes raise a lot of confusion and misunderstandings among interlocutors, and five sets of phenomena are studied and discussed to redress this imbalance. It is also highlighted that in most cases people opt for or use 'indirectness as means of dealing with conflicting intentions and desires', Pyle (1975).

As far as the theory of image restoration strategies in chapter 3 is concerned, Benoit (1995) argues that human beings in general are constantly faced with situations whereby they have to explain or justify their behaviours, and to offer excuses or apologies for certain aspects of their behaviour that seem to have offended others. It is also believed that this is basically the reason why people generally engage in patterns of communicative behaviour that is designed to reduce, avoid and redress damage to one's reputation. Thus, the focus of this chapter was on identity management and maintenance as the key aspect of communication, and also on the fact that communication is goal-oriented or goal-driven.

Chapter 4 has dealt with the theoretical work in articulating motivations and conditions for account-making and account-giving as proposed by Harvey, Weber and Orbuch (1990). Account episodes and their consequences, and different types of reproaches and the impact that they have on accounts, is also discussed in this chapter. The study has discovered that severely formed and phrased reproaches have a massive potential of affecting the account episode, in that they might lead the accounter into formulating defensive reactions or negative relational and emotional consequences such as anger, more stress or escalating conflict. The contexts within which communicators choose forms of failure management strategies over others and in terms of mitigation-aggravation continuum, has also been explored in this chapter. For example, the study discovered that mitigating reproaches often lead to mitigating account episodes, whereas aggravating reproaches invoke aggravating response strategies. Excuses have also been found to be the most common and popularly used failure management strategy and mostly because the accounters concerned have attributed the failure event to the circumstances at hand instead of attributing the failure event to their bad intentions. According to this information, account-making and account-giving is circumstantial.

In chapter 5, five narrative accounts that are concerned with life stories have been collected, and analysed. All five of them are personal stories, told by the internal narrator and almost all of them deal with traumatic and stressful situations. The first narrative is that of an abandoned and traumatised child who has no first hand interaction and experience with and of her real mother's love. The second narrative deals with the eminent and rife racial issues in the South African former model C schools. The third personal story is that of a gay young man, who has experienced massive discrimination from all spheres of life because of his sexuality. The emotional and physical torment he experienced led to his suicide. The fourth narrative is told by a young and aspiring doctor, who also happens to be an alcoholic because of all the abuse, emotionally and sexually from the people who were supposed to be taking care of and protecting her. She took refuge in liquor and drugs and continued with the behaviour until she realised that she was not doing herself any justice. The fifth and last narrative deals with bondage of certain cultural values and norms as far as women are supposed to conduct themselves in marriage relationships and also with the abuse of a wife by her husband. But, though women are socialised as early as possible that they should obey their husbands even when they are abusive and disrespectful towards them, this particular wife decided to break that barrier and rewrite history.

All the narratives have some common traits within them. The following discussion will deal with the comparison of all these narratives as follows:

1) Theme of the narrative:

Three of the narratives, that is narrative 1, 4, and narrative 5 have one thing in common as far as the theme is concerned, which is the initiative they decided to embark on to positively better their lives. In the first narrative, the narrator realised that in order for other people to love and accept her, she has to love herself first. Zenobia in the fourth narrative decided to take AA (Alcoholics Anonymous) classes and acknowledge the fact that even though her stepmother and the man who was molesting her are somehow responsible for her addiction, she is the only one who can end that habit and self-destruction. The narrator in the fifth narrative decided that she doesn't have to live life according to other people's expectations whilst she is the one who is suffering. The other two narratives on the other hand have different themes from the ones as discussed. For example, in the second narrative the narrator deals with racial discrimination that still exist in certain areas or

provinces of the new South Africa. The narrator tried to persevere but when the departmental officials seemed not willing to help, the narrator decided to quit his job as a teacher. This is the same strategy adopted by the narrator in narrative three, who decided to take his life as he saw that as his only means of escaping sexual discrimination. Both narrators in the two narratives have given in to their situations.

2) Ordering of events:

a) *Sequence:*

In all the narratives, the events are ordered in a linear sequence and they all maintain coherence with one another and are relevant to the conclusion of their respective narratives. The events start from the beginning, proceed to the middle and the climax of the story, then the end of the narrative.

b) *Duration:*

It is difficult to tell the exact duration of each narrative because it is not mentioned in all the narratives. All that can be done is only stipulations and speculations, which could be extensively debatable.

c) *Stability of Identity:*

These narratives have a common element when it comes to the question of the stability of identity in that almost all the narrators display two sides in their stories. For example, the narrator of the first narrative first appears in her story as a very timid and an easily manipulated character only to grow and end as a very strong, assertive and courageous young woman. In the second narrative, the narrator appears as a very hopeful person that finally, White and Black are able to live and work together in harmony and as equals, only to be filled with so much anger and resentment when faced with challenges of racial discrimination from his colleagues. Shinayne* in the third narrative first appears as courageous for he was able to stand up and tell everybody that he is gay, but instead of continuing with that and live life to the fullest, he allowed intimidation and discrimination get to him to an extent of ending his own life. In the fourth narrative, the narrator has the same character traits as those displayed by the narrator in the first narrative. The narrator

starts off as a person who easily gives in to any situation that she is subjected to, and ends as a courageous person who is willing to take the first steps towards improving herself and her life. The character in the final narrative is different from other narrators in that right from the beginning; she portrays herself as a very strong and independent individual. She opens her narrative by questioning her cultural norms and values, and when her husband has neglected her and their family, she rolled up her sleeves and worked hard for her children. She never allowed herself to be humiliated and manipulated by her husband and also by her cultural values hence she decided never to go back to her abusive and adulterous husband.

d) *Causal linkages:*

Events of all the narratives are causally linked in that they are all characterised by causes that led to each and every narrative's conclusion. The narrator in the first narrative has done everything in her power to get her mother's love, but when that was never reimbursed; she decided to call it quits something that caused her mother to reconsider her attitude. In the second narrative, the narrator tried to bring about some progressive change in the institution he was working, when that failed and most especially when there was no intervention from the department, he also decided to quit his job. By declaring his sexuality, Shinayne* thought that he will finally lead and live a happy and fulfilling life only to get more and more frustrated, humiliated and marginalized. Zenobia* on the other hand has resorted to heavy drinking and smoking dagga so that she cannot feel and think about what her stepmother's husband was doing to her, that is sexually victimising her. At the same time, she came to realise that continuing with the habit was self-destruction and to that effect she decided to curb it by affiliating with AA (Alcoholics Anonymous). In the final narrative, the narrator had to find a job and take care of her children because her husband was not honouring his duties as he was staying with another woman. As she was asked to return to her home after being chased out with the accusations of adultery, she took a decision not to go back and retain her independence, pride, and dignity and look after her children.

e) *Demarcation signs:*

There are no demarcation signs in all the narratives.

3) The Narrative Form:

All the narratives are characterised by regressive and progressive narratives. The narrators start off as very emotionally traumatised and unstable people because of the situation and challenges they are faced with, and only three narratives that is narrative 1,4 and 5, the characters appear or end their stories as the villains.

4) Self-Narrative:

a) *Relationship among events:*

All the events of each narrative are connected with one another. Narrators start with the first events that directly connect with the next events in a linear form until the final event, which is the ending of the narrative.

b) *Social Accounting:*

The first narrative fulfils the social purpose of self-identification as she identified herself with ignored and neglected children, and unworthy of being loved. In the second narrative, the narrator fulfils the social purpose of self-justification and that of self-identification. First, he identifies himself with the marginalized people of the country because he was never respected and listened to by his colleagues and even by the government officials. He justified his decisions and strategies that he embarked on as means of bringing change to the unjust system. The third narrative fulfils the social purposes of self-identification and self-criticism. The narrator identifies himself with gays or homosexuals and admits to having kept his sexuality for a very long time for fear of being ostracized, something that he had to live with until the time of his death. He criticised and hated himself for being gay as a result he endured loneliness and discrimination. He believed that if he were not gay, he would not be faced with so many predicaments. The fourth narrative serves the social purposes of self-justification and self-criticism. Zenobia* mentions her stepmother's hatred towards her and sexual molestation and abuse by her stepmother's husband as the cause for her alcohol and drug addiction. At the same time, she engages in self-criticism when she acknowledges the fact that she is now the only one doing more harm and destruction to herself because she is old enough to make informed decisions and take responsibility for everything that is happening in her life. The final narrative fulfils the social purpose of

self-justification and that of self-identification. The narrator identifies herself with the abused and battered wives who have to respect and abide by their social norms and values irrespectively. She justifies the initiative she took of getting a job in order for them, that is herself and her children to have a better life because her husband had neglected them. She also decided not to go back to her husband after being humiliated and insulted of adultery, because she felt that she did not have to continue with the legacy of cultural indocrination and oppression.

c) *Narrative is true:*

All the narratives are true personal stories and are stories that most people in the country can and will relate to.

5) Practices of Self-Narration: Process:

a) *Variety of narrative form:*

All the narratives have various narrative forms, but they are mostly characterised by both the regressive and progressive narratives.

b) *Micro narrative:*

All the narratives are micro narratives because they have taken place over a short and unspecified period of time.

c) *Nesting of narratives:*

There is no nesting of narratives in all the narratives because they all have only one narrative.

6) Interknitting of Identities:

a) *Moral evaluation:*

In the first narrative, the community evaluates the narrator as a strong-willed person whereas the narrator of the second narrative is perceived as a quitter or a loser. Characters in the third and fourth narratives are both labelled as very immoral and not exemplary to the younger generation irrespective of their circumstances. Shinayne* is gay and because of that he was ostracised by his community and even his own family. Zenobia* on the other hand is evaluated as ill-disciplined person and a drunkard.-

7) Emotions:

- a) The narrator of the first narrative experienced feelings of confusion, remorse and anger or resentment as a result of the non-existent relationship she had with her mother and being neglected by her mother at times of need. In the second narrative, the narrator mostly experienced feelings of anger and hostility particularly against his colleagues and the departmental officials who were not interested in sorting out the problems the narrator had with his school. Shinayne* in the third narrative is characterised by feelings of confusion, anger and all of which emanated from his disclosure of his true sexuality. In the fourth narrative, the narrator was engulfed by emotions of confusion not knowing why her mother does not want her and those of anger towards her stepmother, her husband and herself hence alcohol and drug abuse. In the last narrative, the narrator experienced anger towards the system or culture, her husband and herself for allowing abuse to continue.
- b) All the emotions as discussed above are embedded into the culture in a way that people who are or have undergone through the same experiences as those mentioned in these narratives are bound to experience these feelings. For example, people who are neglected are likely to feel resentment towards people who have neglected them, and it is only natural for those who are victimised to experience anger towards their abusers and themselves.
- c) The emotional expressions in all the narratives are meaningful to the South African community.
- d) All the feelings as experienced by the narrators in all the narratives are culturally acceptable under the circumstances.

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